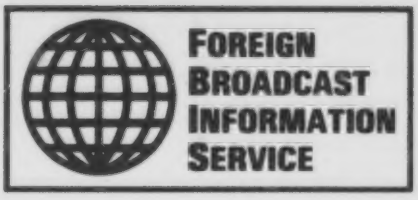

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-029
Wednesday
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Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-029 *12 February 1992*

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Kozyrev Asks Nuclear States To Stand Down

AU1202101492 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Geneva, Feb 12 (AFP)—Russia called Wednesday [12 February] on the world's five nuclear powers to take their nuclear forces off alert status and remove all warheads from their missiles to avoid accidental firings.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev made the proposals to the Conference on Disarmament meeting here.

Shaposhnikov on Combat Alert Status of Weapons

MK1202080192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of CIS, Commonwealth of Independent States, Joint Armed Forces, by Sergey Parkhomenko under the "Army" rubric; place and date not given: "Marshal Shaposhnikov: 'Russian President's Statements Are Political Statements...' Commander in Chief of CIS Combined Armed Forces Answers NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] [Parkhomenko] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, I think that you have had to answer this same question countless times of late: Where are the Commonwealth strategic forces' ballistic missiles that the Russian president mentioned in his recent statements pointing now?

[Shaposhnikov] The missiles mentioned in the text of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction have simply been taken off combat alert and are no longer pointing anywhere.

The other missiles that have not as yet, so to speak, been affected by the reduction mechanism are still on combat alert. I must point out here that Boris Nikolayevich's well-known statements are political statements. Some time elapses between a political statement and its concrete—practical and technical—implementation. Therefore at the moment I can only say that the level of combat alert readiness has been reduced. There has been no retargeting as such.

In response to all the questions about the overall situation with regard to the former Union's strategic and tactical nuclear weapons I can only say this: Despite certain disagreements over the future of and principles governing the use of the general-purpose armed forces, the leaders of the sovereign states have nonetheless manifested sufficient responsibility and restraint to take a very serious attitude to the nuclear forces.

The situation with regard to strategic weapons is totally clear today: They are under unified control, under unified command. There is also an agreement on tactical nuclear weapons (at present apart from Russia they are only to be found in Ukraine, and a small quantity in Belarus). These weapons are currently all being taken back to Russian territory. By mid-summer this year this withdrawal will have been completed.

The future of these weapons is another matter. As you know, we intend to reutilize [utilizirovat] or dismantle [razdelyvat] these weapons—in line with existing accords. Weapons-grade plutonium and uranium are to be turned into nuclear fuel to be used for peaceful purposes. Some Western states are offering us a very long list of services here: transportation, storage, protection [sberezheniye], and, last, reutilization. But we have quite enough experience in these matters. We have, after all, already removed nuclear weapons from Europe, from the Transcaucasus, and from the Baltic....

We find most interesting the offers of technologies to "reorient" nuclear weapons, uranium, and plutonium to peaceful purposes. We will see how appealing they are. If they look more advantageous and reliable than our own, we will not ignore the services offered by our Western partners.

Another serious question that our colleagues in the West are constantly asking concerns the position of our nuclear physicists. Boris Nikolayevich tried to find a solution to the problem when he met with a large group of scientists before his trip to the United States. The first thing that they agreed upon there was to develop a mechanism of social security for specialists, increase their wages, and so on. The second is that nuclear specialists will be provided with work linked with reutilizing nuclear weapons and using military technologies and materials for peaceful purposes.

[Parkhomenko] How much of a surprise were President Yeltsin's initiatives on setting up a unified system of nuclear security and ABM defense to the CIS military leadership?

[Shaposhnikov] They were coordinated in full with the military command.

[Parkhomenko] But who had the idea first: Did the military suggest it to the president or did the president "order" the military to make these developments?

[Shaposhnikov] Let us put it like this: This was the military-political leadership's idea. Of course, it could not come into being right away. Developments accumulated gradually, in different structures.

The thing is that we have nonetheless reached the point where, in my view, roughly a dozen more countries could shortly join the nuclear club. We will have less and less reliable insurance against breaches in the rules of storage and protection and unsanctioned use [primeneniye] of nuclear weapons in various regions. All this convinces us that it is time to think about a global defense system.

[Parkhomenko] How do you think this can be organized? How long will it take?

[Shaposhnikov] A long time...years...at least five years. Or even 10. We do after all still mistrust one another: They hide things and we hide things...

In terms of our technical ideas we are already abreast of world progress and even ahead of it in some areas. Our problem is that our technologies lag behind. It can take decades in our country between having an idea and putting into practice, whereas in more industrially developed countries this period is sometimes measured in terms of just weeks and months. Therefore their advantages and ours may be amalgamated very usefully, with very interesting results.

A joint working group will most likely be set up to work in turn in our country and abroad. Somewhere in the second half of February we expect a visit from Secretary of State Baker, and I think that we will just touch on this problem and start practical discussion of it during the talks with him. Provided of course that we see that the West is really showing serious interest in this.

[Parkhomenko] I expect that this will require a fairly difficult mental effort for CIS military specialists due to the change in the entire accepted system of keeping secrets, the whole hierarchy of secrecy...

[Shaposhnikov] I do not think that there will be any particular problems with that.

There is no need to worry especially. On the one hand, we will not tell them, and they will not tell us, state secrets.

On the other hand, we must not forget that there are not just dozens, but many hundreds of people in both our countries involved in the serious problems of organizing defense and strategic weapons. If we achieve something and hide it, we must not think that they will not develop the same thing sooner or later. Or vice versa.

Burbulis Meets With Nuclear Research Official

OW1002200992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1934 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis has received the Director General of the European Organization for Nuclear Research [CERN] (headquartered in Switzerland) Nobel Prize winner Carlos Rubbia.

Mr. Rubbia is the brain-father of the idea of giving assistance to Russian nuclear scientists. He put forward the proposal in the wake of growing fears in the West that brain drain from the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states may result in the leak of nuclear technologies.

Mr. Rubbia has told IF [INTERFAX] that he has arrived in Moscow in order to cooperate with his Russian colleagues and to strengthen contacts by every possible means. However, he avoided disclosing the details of his proposals.

After Gennadiy Burbulis's talks with Professor Rubbia the Russian Science and Technology Minister Boris Saltykov who took part in them told IF that he was satisfied with the results.

He said that Russian science would be able to send its bright brains to work at the CERN facilities. He said that 20 to 25 physicists would be able to work there every year. "This will not resolve the brain drain problem completely, but prove very helpful", the minister said.

Brain Drain, Joint Ventures Discussed

LD1002202192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1834 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Russia is the USSR's legal successor in all accords reached on its participation in the work of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). This was stated today by Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary of the Russian Federation and first vice prime minister of the Russian Cabinet, at his meeting with Carlo Rubbia, CERN director general and Nobel Prize winner.

Carlo Rubbia initiated the establishment of an international fund for supporting basic research in Russia aimed at rendering direct Western financial aid to scientists who continue to work in Russia at a world level. He also made a decision to grant financial support from the 1992 CERN budget to Russian scientists who work in CERN on joint projects.

Gennadiy Burbulis expressed gratitude to Carlo Rubbia for his constructive approach and initiatives.

Chelyabinsk Opened, Secretary Baker To Visit

OW1002152292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, First Deputy Premier of the Russian government, has ordered that the city of Chelyabinsk (Southern Urals) be removed from the list of cities closed to foreigners.

The decision to open Chelyabinsk, a city with dozens of defense plants, was taken in response to the plant directors' repeated calls to allow them to use foreign expertise in the area of conversion.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] sources, US Secretary of State James Baker may be one of the first foreigners to visit Chelyabinsk. He is expected to arrive there on February 14 as a leg of his tour of the Commonwealth

countries. According to some reports, he will be interested in the procedure of nuclear weapon destruction at one of the local defense plants.

U.S. Interest in Nuclear Materials Noted

PM1002141392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Report by Sergey Slipchenko: From the "Itogi" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Kiselev] The next item throws new light on a report which has appeared recently in the U.S. press, according to which there is U.S. interest in purchasing certain achievements of our space missile technology, and specifically a compact nuclear reactor which can be used as a power supply for space satellites. To begin with here are details in a reportage by Sergey Slipchenko.

[Slipchenko] This is a "Topaz" satellite, and this is the nuclear reactor. Right here is the know-how which the Americans would so much like to get their hands on.

The Americans stopped working on these problems in 1978. Now, after they have been working on the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] program for many years, they need a strong power source, for example for a laser beam in orbit. At the "Krasnaya Zvezda" science and production association a concept already exists for a nuclear plant with a capacity of several hundred kilowatts and an operational life of five to seven years.

In THE WASHINGTON POST article dated 8 January, U.S. scientists report that negotiations with the Soviets as to the price and terms of purchase of the reactor are continuing, and that in all likelihood its cost will be less than $10 million. Ten million dollars is clearly not enough—this is the Soviet scientists' opinion. [Slipchenko ends] [passage omitted]

'Almost One Half' Ukraine's Arms Withdrawn

OW0702141692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a disarmament expert in the Russian Foreign Ministry, "almost one half" of Ukraine's tactical nuclear arsenal has been withdrawn. The rest will be transferred to Russia under an appropriate agreement before July 1. The withdrawal of strategic systems from Ukraine will be complete in 1994.

All tactical nuclear arms will leave Belarussian soil before July 1, and strategic missiles by 1997, "and possibly earlier," the expert said.

As far as Kazakhstan is concerned, the question of tactical arms withdrawal has not been raised because that republic "has deployed practically no weapons of this kind on its territory." The Foreign Ministry official said that the future of Kazakhstan's strategic arsenals was still unclear, since "Kazakh leaders have been heard making most controversial statements on the subject lately."

START Decisions Being Put 'Into Action'

LD0702202692 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 7 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—"The work on putting into action the decisions of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) began", chief of the national centre for reducing the nuclear danger, Lieutenent-General Vladimir Medvedev told TASS today.

The centre was formed in 1987 as a body to exchange information on putting into action the Soviet-American agreements on medium- and short-range missiles. At the same time it became an organization for monitoring the provisions of the agreement. Its officials are currently preparing to work on cutting down the strategical nuclear arsenals. It will require great efforts in exchange of information and carrying out the inspection checks, the lieutenent-general said.

"During the three years of the implementation of the START, there have been no complaints against the inspection work of the groups", Medvedev said. "We either solved all problems on a technical level or passed them on to diplomats for consideration by a special control committee", he said.

"This experience will be useful for us in the future after ratification of the START", Lieutenent-General Medvedev concluded.

'Natural Wastage' To Cut Inspectors' Numbers

PM0702135392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 92 p 4

[Report by O. Volkov: "Fewer and Fewer People at Nuclear Power Stations"]

[Text] French radio, citing national electricity company experts, recently reported that the situation at CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] nuclear power stations is becoming increasingly alarming. The lack of funds is also affecting enterprises using advanced and dangerous technology. In market conditions even people's safety is having to be sacrificed. It cited as an example the station in Sosnovyy Bor near St. Petersburg, where nuclear safety controllers' jobs have allegedly been cut.

We contacted the station immediately.

"Our station is not economizing on safety," we were told. "We have not made any personnel cuts. The state nuclear inspectors, if you are referring to them, belong to a different department. Probably only Moscow knows why they are being cut."

As it happens, Moscow is not contemplating any personnel cuts either—the inspectors are leaving the stations of their own accord because they are not being paid enough. Recently nuclear power station workers' pay was raised to the point where a cleaner now gets more than a State Nuclear Inspectorate chief who is based at the same station but whose pay comes from a different "pocket."

The groups of inspectors independent of the stations were originally set up for the specific purpose of providing additional monitoring. Does this mean that monitoring will no longer exist?

There was reassurance from the Russian State Nuclear Inspectorate: "The Americans have fewer inspectors at stations than us—one per unit, plus a chief. The Finns have only one resident observer—that is fine. We too are switching to the new work method. But we are not going to make any specific cuts—we are relying on natural wastage among inspectorate personnel."

The "natural" reduction of State Nuclear Inspectorate personnel is proceeding highly successfully at the moment. Three of the six have left Sosnovyy Bor. The picture is more or less the same at other stations.

The railroad once earnestly introduced the "Belarussian practice" of cutting jobs occupied by track inspectors—little old ladies fussing around in bright orange jackets. They would be remembered many times subsequently—whenever a train was derailed over some trifle....

Missile Component Deterioration Considered

92UN0747A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 6, 5 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Andrey Filippov: "The Status of Waiting for Doomsday: Is an Unauthorized Launch of Nuclear Missiles From Silos in the Ukraine Possible?"]

[Text] As is known, a trial launch of the new launch vehicle Zenit from the Baykonur space launch complex took place on 20 December last year. It will soon have to replace the famous "No. 7"—the Soyuz launch vehicle, which lifted Yuriy Gagarin as much as 30 years ago.

This launch was not shrouded in any particular secrecy. As servicemen from space units assure us, they notified the American side in advance, but for some reason not the Kazakh side. Perhaps this is the reason the Western world was gripped by panic no sooner had Zenit separated from the launch silo. They said that an unauthorized launch of a combat missile, which the Russians missed in the hungry commotion of perestroyka, occurred at the space launch complex. In response, the space units finally clarified what is what through the mass media.

The editorial office of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA was inundated with calls from former and current missile specialists and common citizens who were not satisfied with the explanations offered. There were calls among those which may indeed rob one of peace of mind and sleep. A number of professionals and ex-professionals shared with us their concern in conjunction with a new problem. The guaranteed reliable service life of some missiles with nuclear warheads which are based in Ukraine, or more precisely, the life of their individual parts, assemblies, and systems, has expired or is about to expire.

In simple terms, these missiles are "falling apart." The assemblies and systems in question are so important in the sophisticated organism of intercontinental missiles that...in a word, some experts do not rule out the possibility of an unauthorized launch, which could occur before Bush and Yeltsin disarm their nuclear arsenals. In addition, according to rumors which are impossible to either confirm or refute, so far Ukraine has not even given thought to placing orders for exchanging the necessary equipment at Russian producer-enterprises, or paying for them.

A LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent who tried to verify these rumors called the press center of the former USSR Ministry of Defense and the State Committee of Russia for Defense Issues. The response was always evasive. They said that the data we were seeking are classified top secret. They said that had there really been something of this nature, the Americans would have raised the alarm long ago. In general, you may perhaps (!—note by Andrey Filippov) get a more accurate answer at this place or that place. They referred us to the former Ministry of the Defense Industry, the Strategic Missile Troops, and the Ministry of Defense of the Ukraine. It was nice of them not to refer us to the American Embassy.

Therefore, there is neither yes nor no.

Esteemed generals and colonels in uniform and in civilian dress! Through the newspaper I am appealing to any official (or officials) aware of the actual state of affairs. Reassure us and our children. We do not need to know which plants in Russia make gyroscopes, microchips, thyristors, cables, and whatever else is necessary for the control systems of strategic intercontinental missiles, where they make them, or how many of them are made. However, we want to be certain that military men and diplomats in the Ukraine and Russia have not lost sight of the most important nuclear issue, given the nationality, food, monetary, territorial, and fleet problems. Give us an answer.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA—A Competition of Reporters

In publishing this article by Andrey Filippov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is inaugurating a Competition of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Reporters. We expect our readers and professional reporters to send in reports on unusual and sensational events and

narrations about people dealing with emergency situations. The best articles will be published immediately. The best of the best will be awarded monetary prizes, in addition to honoraria.

Reports for the Competition of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Reporters are received Monday through Friday, 1000 to 1800, at this telephone number: 208-82-44.

U.S. Secretary of State Baker Tour Viewed

Central Asia at 'Crossroads'

LD0902215692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2038 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Commentary by Ashod Nasibov on U.S. Secretary of State Baker's upcoming tour of Central Asian states; from the "Novosti" newscast presented by Dmitriy Kiselev]

[Text] [Kiselev] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker sets off on 9 February on a tour of the Central Asian states which were formerly part of the USSR. Here is a commentary by Ashod Nasibov:

[Nasibov] The political vacuum following the weakening of Moscow's influence has left the states of Central Asia at a crossroads, faced with the question of which development option to choose. With the aid of its allies, Egypt and Turkey, the United States is trying to attract the attention of these new young countries to the Turkish model of development, characterized by a market economy, political freedom, and a secular type of authority. Washington believes that it is exactly that path of development on which Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are now embarking.

However, the U.S. attitude on other Central Asian states is somewhat different. While the diplomats may not do so, newspapers close to the U.S. authorities have been describing some of the leaders of those states as neocommunists because of their far from democratic methods of governing, and their suppression of opposition. The United States hung on until the last moment before opening its embassies in Tashkent, Dushanbe, and Ashkhabad.

But it seems that it has now been forced to make good, if it is not to hand the initiative to Iran. Washington will undoubtedly have noticed the article which appeared in the official Iranian newspaper TEHRAN TIMES, proclaiming a great victory for influence in Central Asia, as well as the decision by Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan to join the Economic Cooperation Organization in which Iran's influence is strong.

Another problem bothering the Americans is arms trading and the drain to foreign countries of former Soviet atomic scientists. Reports in the Western press about sales of tanks, enriched uranium, and even ballistic missiles—though they may have been denied by official sources in the Central Asian states—have nevertheless left their mark. That is another of the subjects U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will be discussing on his upcoming trip.

Carrying 'Torch of U.S. Democracy'

MK1102121692 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 3

["Our Commentary" by Mikhail Shchipanov: "What Would Everyone Do Without Iran?"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker is continuing to travel the expanses of the Commonwealth of Independent States in succession, carrying the torch of U.S. democracy. This time his route has taken him through Tashkent, Dushanbe, Ashkhabad, and, as you know, at the last moment, to Baku. To be frank, the subject matter of the visit lies in the sphere of political commerce, or of making commerce out of politics. All the impoverished heirs of the Union have their own political commodity to sell to the rich West, fearful as it is of our microbes of anarchy and ideological obscurantism. Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan have the nuclear weapons which the Americans and their allies intend to "buy" with various stabilizing credits and varying aid to guarantee against civil anarchy. As a "dollar trap" the Central Asian republics have the factor of Muslim fundamentalism, into which Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan could be plunged by internal disorder and the machinations of conservative regimes like the Iranian regime.

It cannot be denied that these commodities are first-rate. No one in the civilized world likes the prospect of an "arc of religious instability" extending across the cities and towns of everything that was Soviet Central Asia. Since this concern is no secret to the Central Asian and Transcaucasian leaders, Baker will, of course, encounter in the course of his trip an extremely commonplace piece of haggling: People will say, the best antidote to fundamentalism, to excessively "green" banners, is the green of the dollar.

Admittedly, traditional U.S. allies in neighboring regions—Turkey and Pakistan—also hope to profit from the crusade against Muslim conservatism. Pakistan, which has over the last few years been deprived of major U.S. financial infusions owing to its excessive interest in the nuclear bomb, is already hinting to people in Washington that it could exert a favorable influence on the newly independent states if the United States sends it a few dollars to increase its own positive example of development and spread its valuable experience. Turkey, which as a result of the ending of the cold war could find itself without the traditional U.S. aid, is also gesturing ostentatiously and helplessly: It says that it would be glad to take a more active role in Azerbaijan for the sake of democratic ideals, but it has no money. In short, if the "Iranian threat" did not exist, it would have to be invented.

Withdrawal From Germany Continues Gradually

LD1202112692 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhayl Voronenkov]

[Text] Berlin February 12 TASS— The withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces from the five new German lands will gradually continue in 1992.

This year another six divisions with a total strength of 100,000 men, 65,000 family members and employees, as well as 33,000 arms units and mechanisms and 780,000 tonnes of various materials and ammunition will be withdrawn, representatives of the German Army told correspondents on Tuesday [11 February] evening in Strausberg upon the completion of a regular meeting of the German-Soviet group on the withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces.

Before the end of 1992 the formations of the former Soviet Army will be withdrawn from another 59 towns of the West German lands, including Dresden, the capital of Saxony.

All in all, 249 military facilities were transferred to the German side in 1991.

Equipment For Sale

LD1102172992 Berlin ADN in German 1504 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The Western Group of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces has offered equipment and decommissioned military hardware for sale to the Brandenburg Economics Ministry and to companies in the federal land. High-ranking military officials offered the Economics Ministry items such as remnant aluminium-titanium alloy sections of MiG-29 fighters scrapped at airbases belonging to the Western Group in Germany. Medical equipment and the turbine engines of modern tanks, which according to the Russians could be used to power ventilation and cooling equipment, are also to be given over to civilian use.

In conjunction with the chambers of commerce and industry, the Economics Ministry is currently looking for companies interested in such items for conversion, a spokesman for the ministry told ADN on Tuesday [11 February]. The military intend using the proceeds of the deals for the construction of more accommodation and for other welfare projects for soldiers and officers returning home from Germany.

Commonwealth Troops To Leave Cam Ranh Bay

Middle of 1992 Projected

LD2601163892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] To all appearances, our servicemen will leave Cam Ranh Bay Base in Vietnam by the middle of this year. For many years this base was used as a support station for the USSR Navy and Air Force. The reason the troops will leave is that Vietnam has asked to be paid 300 to 400 million pounds sterling annually for leasing Cam Ranh Bay Base. In the agency's [not further specified] view, the Commonwealth of Independent States will not be able to pay such a sum.

Delegation To Be Sent

PM2701100592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 92 p 3

[Untitled, unattributed report from REUTER, AFP, TASS roundup]

[Text] Russia will be sending a military delegation to Hanoi for talks on ending the use of the Cam Ranh base. All military advisers will be recalled from Vietnam by May, stated a Russian diplomat.

Gorbachev Interviewed on Yeltsin, Reforms

OW1102132892 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1200 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Report on interview with former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev by NHK Moscow Bureau Chief Kazuo Kobayashi; place and date not given; interview conducted in Russian with Japanese translation provided in subtitles; translated from the Japanese—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Former Soviet President Gorbachev, who resigned late last year, granted an exclusive interview to NHK for the first time since his resignation. Former President Gorbachev's current title is chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation—the think tank he himself established in Moscow. He has been promoting new activities by taking advantage of his close relations with leaders at home and abroad, including leaders in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, in order to the support reforms undertaken by the members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. The interview was conducted by our Moscow correspondent Kazuo Kobayashi.

[Begin recording] [Kobayashi] Have your views on the world changed since you became a free man?

[Gorbachev] There is no doubt that my role has changed from the one I had when I was in a public office. Nevertheless, I am a man destined to remain active. The rapid changes in the former Soviet Union and in Europe, as well as the change in world order, actually started when I was promoting certain political activities. It is natural for me to use, in my new capacity, my ability and experiences to promote democratic reform at home and abroad. [Kobayashi] Why did you not listen to President Bush when he warned you in advance about the possibility of a coup?

[Gorbachev] The President warned me, saying there will be a coup tomorrow. It was not specific like the rumors I was hearing even a week before he warned me. I told to the President to please sleep well because there will be no coup. I believed that there would certainly be a sane man among those who might attempt a coup and that he

would convince his collaborators that a coup would not succeed. I was quite optimistic and saying to myself that even those who planned a coup would know that it was an unrealistic adventure. I also was certain that any coup attempt would fail because perestroyka was progressing. Therefore, I was maintaining a normal state of mind.

[Gorbachev] I think Yeltsin has used populist methods to reach the position he is now in. Discontent and criticism within society grew intense as difficulties accompanying the reforms piled up. Among other things, government officials' privileges and the slow pace of the reforms became targets of criticism. In particular, the reform of the national organizations was exposed to all sorts of slander. Some people said: Gorbachev is trying to preserve the bureaucratic center. Yeltsin skillfully used this and dealt us a great blow. They started malicious gossip for political struggle and won.

[Kobayashi] When did you become aware of your defeat?

[Gorbachev] I do not think that in a historical sense I was defeated. I lost some battles, but my resignation from the presidency does not mean that I was politically defeated. Now, I pray for Yeltsin's success because he is a successor of my reform. To say Gorbachev's era was a mistake is nothing but slander. I paved the way for all the things happening in our country and the world today. Television, newspapers, or politicians cannot determine Gorbachev's historical role and true value.

[Kobayashi] Would you become a president again if given a chance?

[Gorbachev] It does not matter any more. [end recording]

Bush's State of Union Speech Reviewed

LD0902151492 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin; "Viewpoint from Moscow"]

[Text] I want to share my impressions, he [Valentin Zorin] writes, of President Bush's recent State of the Union address to the U.S. Congress. I feel the address gives a formal confirmation to a most important change of priorities in the U.S. defense strategy. From now on, instead of escalating the drawn-out arms race that country will take action on the reduction of its arsenals. The extreme importance of this change is obvious. But along with this, I can't avoid mentioning something that struck me as incoherent with the overall spirit of the President's address.

President Bush said that last year his country won the cold war. Well, back in December of 1989, I attended the news conference President Bush and Gorbachev held on Malta. With my own ears, writes Valentin Zorin, I heard President Bush declare the era of the cold war was over for good. Mr. Bush said nothing whatsoever of anybody winning the cold war. Three years have passed and suddenly the Americans win the cold war—I fail to understand this.

Now, let's turn to the most important developments of the past few years, say the Gulf War and the recent meeting between Presidents Yeltsin and Bush. Moscow and Washington took joint action to rebuff Iraq and the two Presidents opted for more cooperation at Camp David. Neither development can be duly understood and appreciated without accepting it as common sense, if anything, that has won the cold war. Mr. Bush may have made his unfortunate statement on the spur of the moment as a participant in an election race rather than a national leader. That explains things but gives me another cause for worry. I am sure any election consideration weighs less than peace and security, and these depend in good measure on trust between Mr. Bush's and my countries. That was something I had to bring up today because I for one respect the U.S. leader and appreciate what he said in the same address to the Congress about the need for further arms reduction.

Commonwealth

Working Group Invites Military Experts to Minsk

Military Package Discussed

LD1102151592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondents Vladimir Glod and Leonid Tratsevskiy—TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 11 Feb (BELTA-TASS)—Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] joint troops, has arrived in the capital of Belarus to take part in today's conference for the working group on the organization, technical preparation, and staging of sessions of the Council of Heads of State and Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth. Military experts and the ministers of defense of the member states of the Commonwealth have been invited to this meeting. In the words of Ivan Korotchen, coordinator of the working group, the Minsk conference will last no less than two days. The participants plan to work out a package of documents on military problems for the heads of states in the Commonwealth, who will gather in Minsk on 14 February.

Further on Meeting

LD1102183792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By BELTA-TASS corresponents Vladimir Glod and Leonid Tratsevskiy]

[Excerpts] Minsk, 11 Feb (TASS)—About 100 people are taking part in the conference of the working group for the organizational and technical preparation and holding of the sessions of the Council of Heads of States and the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth being held in the capital of Belarus. [passage omitted]

Only Uzbekistan representatives were absent by the time the conference opened, their flight being delayed because of bad weather. But it is not only weather which explains the absence of some high-ranking military. Colonel General Pavel Grachev from Russia has urgently gone to Chechen, while the Ukrainian delegation does not include Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov. It is hoped here that both Morozov and Grachev will arrive in the Belarus capital on the morning of 12 February.

The meeting is being held behind closed doors. Working group coordintor Ivan Korotchen told the BELTA correspondent that "the conference will last at least 48 hours".

It has become known that 13 issues have been proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the meeting of heads of Commonwealth member states. It is believed that this number is not final. Some delagations have proposed additional agenda entries.

Half an hour before the conference started, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, while refraining from forecasting its outcome, said that the documents to be discussed by the heads of military departments and experts of independent states could lay foundations for military construction in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. He supports a balanced approach to the problems that have become ripe and sees a way toward resolving them in a 2-3 year transition period.

Colonel General Petr Chaus, acting Belarussian defense minister, noted that he considers one of the main tasks of the conference to be the preparation of mutually acceptable approaches to military construction both in sovereign states and in the CIS as a whole. This will make it possible to observe the interests of peoples and the Commonwealth.

Before the conference started, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, and Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov held a tete-a-tete conversation.

Working Group Coordinator Unsure of Position

AU0602114792 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 24 Jan 92 p 1

[Interview with Ivan Korotchen, coordinator of the Commonwealth of Independent States, CIS, working group, member of the Supreme Council Presidium of the Republic of Belarus, chairman of the Commission for Glasnost in the Mass Media and of Human Rights, by Nadiya Derkach in Minsk; date not given: "A Successor to... Gorbachev's Throne?"]

[Text] The secretary of one of Belarus' Communist Party rayon committees did not even dream that he would become a successor to Gorbachev himself, and not even in the post of General Secretary, but the throne of the ruler of what is claimed to be a new Union. It is even more amazing that Mr. Ivan Korotchen granted his first interview as successor to the throne to the newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAYINU, represented by the editor of the international section who had been on the watch for him in the corridors of one of the departments in Minsk.

[Derkach] Ivan Korotchen, coordinator of the CIS working group who was yesterday and, so far today, member of the Supreme Council Presidium of the Republic of Belarus, chairman of the Commission for Glasnost in the Mass Media and of Human Rights, and still earlier was first secretary of one of the party rayon committees, admitted without concealing his anger: The headquarters of the CIS does not exist. However, there are rumors that it must be somewhere that, until recently, was premises of the Belarussian Communist Party. When I arrived in Minsk, which was the day before yesterday, the coordinator of the CIS working

group (so far, the creation of this group is only contemplated) dispatched letters to the heads of state of the Commonwealth in which he asked them to speed up the nomination of representatives for the working group; after all, what kind of coordinator of 11 independent states will he turn out to be if there is nobody... to coordinate. Mr. Ivan wanted to take this exceptionally important post seriously, but, here you are, there is no discipline, and the situation is even worse than in the party rayon committee.

Mr. Coordinator categorically refused to grant an interview, especially after he learned that I was from the Ukraine. After all, I was not the only one with whom he refused to speak. He himself pointed out that the telephone in his office "has turned blue" from the phone calls of foreign reporters who wanted to communicate with the newly appointed coordinator—we add—of the yet nonexistent CIS.

In the end, I did manage to persuade him to grant me an interview, but I agreed that it is difficult to talk to reporters about things that one is not properly familiar with and that, perhaps, nobody knew properly.... Anyway, let our readers judge for themselves.

Mr. Korotchen, did you agree at once to become the coordinator of the CIS working group?

[Koretchenya] No, not at once. This is how it was. When a tentative regulation on the CIS working group was discussed, and it was necessary to determine who was going to be its coordinator, Yeltsin, who presided over the session, suggested that this post should, after all, be filled by a representative from Belarus. Nobody objected. Then Yeltsin asked [Stanislav] Shushkevich [chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Council] whether the latter could propose a candidate. Shushkevich asked to be given one hour to think it over. Our delegation consisted of five persons. For some reason, everybody agreed on my candidacy. Then a break was announced, and, again, I was subjected to "pressure." This continued for a long time. I began to find out what a "CIS coordinator" was all about: Tell me what it is, where you will send me, and to what post, and what the authority of this post and its significance are? In answer, they started telling me something, that it was this and that, and that **this must be a person who will have influence and will get satisfaction, at least, from his work and from all of this....** (highlighted by the author).

[Derkach] Were you persuaded by such an answer?

[Korotchen] Of course not. I saw that there was much about the position that was unknown. However, in view of the fact that our delegation was confronted with a fait accompli....

[Derkach] As far as I know, Mr. Coordinator, the working group must have two representatives from every state. You already said that the Republic of Belarus had already nominated its representatives. It turns out now that there is yet a third one, or, as they say, an extra one....

[Korotchen] As a coordinator of the working group, I do not, in fact, have anything to do with the Republic of Belarus. I am just a resident of this republic.

[Derkach] Does this mean that you will cease to be a member of the Presidium, chairman of the commission, and deputy of the Belarussian Supreme Council?

[Korotchen] For the time being, I continue to be both a member of the Presidium and the chairman of the commission. Whether I will continue to hold these posts depends on how serious all of this is going to be: the creation of the working group and of the CIS itself.

[Derkach] As a coordinator of the working group, how do you understand its tasks?

[Korotchen] It will not be an organ that will dictate conditions to anyone or that will constitute a certain superstructure. It will be an organ that will enable presidents and heads of state to work under normal conditions, will enlist the services of experts and specialists for the work on the documents—those people who understand and can resolve the particular questions on the agenda and, proceeding from this, will elaborate documents that could eventually be adopted. Of course, decisions will be adopted by politicians, heads of state, and governments. We, at the same time, will only work on the documents.

[Derkach] Is the role of the members of the working group limited to this?

[Korotchen] Why? For example, a delegation from the Ukraine sits at a meeting, and two representatives sit behind it. This will be on a permanent basis....

[Derkach] How do you see your own role as a coordinator?

[Korotchen] I will be behind that person who will handle the case. Any president may play a leading role—either Kravchuk, or Nazarbayev, or Yeltsin. I must have full control over this body and somehow orient those people who arrive for one hour or one day toward normal work. If the representatives of the republics do not have a common opinion, I must report that one country thinks in one way and the other in a different way....

[Derkach] At that point, I had to interrupt the conversation with the coordinator of the CIS working group, because my interlocutor had to catch his train to Moscow. From one "center"—to another. When I was talking to him, it seemed to me that Ivan Mikhaylovych, while answering my questions, was convincing himself rather than me. He wanted very much to be the chief coordinator of the CIS. How could it be otherwise—[he jumped] from a rayon committee chair straight into a geopolitical and historical orbit. However, Mr. Ivan

himself did not have any arguments to prove that the CIS was not an empty place and was not a fiction. Is it so bad, after all?

Division of Former Union Property Contended

OW1102192692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1844 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of representatives from the country-members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], working out the principles by which the former USSR's property abroad will be divided, met for the first time on Tuesday [11 February] in Minsk. According to sources close to the head of the Belarussian parliament, there are serious disagreements between Russia and the othe republics. Russian representatives, for example, are suggesting only the division of the former Soviet embassies' property, and do not want to divide trade, industrial, political and social representations which the Russians intend to use themselves.

Military

Large-Scale Cuts of Strategic Forces Viewed

'Deadlines' of Pledge Doubted

LD0702230792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] It has long been known that it takes more than a day to turn political leaders' announcements into specific action. The length of the delay depends on the seriousness and scope of the decision made. Boris Yeltsin's plan for large-scale cuts in strategic forces is unequaled, and we do not yet know how the situation will develop. Our correspondent Eduard Gendeleya reports on reaction in the Army to this move by the Russian leadership.

[Gendeleya] The military formation is hidden deep inside the forests of Russia's black earth zone. The rules of secrecy are so strict that even officers risk dismissal if they leave the unit's territory. The formation is part of the Strategic Deterrence Forces.

I am not allowed to give any details on where this unit is stationed, what kind of weapons it has, or even the name of the unit's commanding officer. The men serving here are used to the strict rules on secrecy and their isolated way of life. Commanding officers from the formation visited the unit recently and asked what should be done next. Russian President Boris Yeltsin's announcement of major cuts in strategic weapons left too many questions unanswered. What does the commanding officer of the formation think about all this himself? Perhaps he would tell your Radio Rossii correspondent.

[Begin unidentified officer recording] You see, in theory we officers welcome all of our president's initiatives, especially in strategic nuclear disarmament. So many of these terrible weapons have piled up in the world that there is nowhere left to put them. But what worries me is the speed and deadlines that Boris Nikolayevich proposed in his announcement. I do not think he has worked it all out properly. They are not saying anything in the United States about timeframes or other short-term goals, and for good reason. They are in no hurry to say anything about it. That is my own personal opinion. I do not know; I could be wrong. [end recording]

[Gendeleya] Well, this is just another mutinous general, some of our listeners will say after hearing that interview. Believe me, that is not the case. Formations of this kind have always been loyal to the country's leadership; the leadership has always had the control button [nuclear button] in hand, literally, while that is not the case with other branches of the Armed Forces.

Officers in Strategic Deterrence Forces formations are not worried about career motives. As professionals they are worried about the fact that the country has no tried and tested technical means to destroy rocket fuel, for example. There are no storage facilities where, metaphorically speaking, all this equipment could be collected, and there will not be any in the foreseeable future. There are simply no apartments for the 700,000 servicemen and family members who will be affected by the cuts. Will this most large-scale and rapidly performed arms cut be the most expensive?

'Concerned' Over New Policy

PM1002105192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Report by Kiselev over video: From the "Itogi" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev] This is what a strategic missile command post looked like some 10 years ago. Naturally, you have to bear in mind that even then we were not allowed to film the latest equipment. However, the situation in the underground silos has probably not changed fundamentally in recent years.

The officers on duty probably still keep their eyes glued to a screen on which a sequence of numbers may appear at any second. This is the code of the launcher in question with which no one in the silo is familiar until the launch. The same applies to the target to which the missile is to deliver its lethal payload. Generally speaking, going by a number of indirect indicators, the officers can make an assumption about the direction of the trajectory, but no more than that. The exact coordinates of the target are stored in the memory of the missile itself, and until the moment the start button is pushed, they remain heavily guarded.

Yeltsin's statement that missiles will no longer be targeted on U.S. cities has evoked a certain amount of puzzlement among the stragetic forces' command. What new target coordinates should be fed into the command

system? That's the first point; the second is that it is no secret that the missiles were targeted not only on the U.S. continent. Targets are also located elsewhere. By lifting the threat from the former enemy, who has become the No. 1 friend, but maintaining it in respect of other countries, are we not complicating the political situation in the world? It seems that high-ranking officers of the strategic forces are even more concerned about the political consequences of this step than the politicians themselves. On the whole they favor the reduction of strategic offensive arms, but they have reservations about the haste with which this decision was adopted. However, being disciplined military people, they have declined to comment for the time being. We were told at the Strategic Forces main staff: Let us wait for President Yeltsin's return from abroad. Perhaps we will receive an exhaustive explanation.

And so, the military have correctly refrained from making assessments, but that does not mean that there are any fewer questions. It is hard to shake off the impression that the proposal for superdisarmament was prepared for Boris Yeltsin under pressure of time, after it had become known that President Bush intended to put forward a unilateral initiative.

For some reason we do not seem able to shake off that very Soviet desire to catch up and overtake America, and to win what has now become the disarmament race. It is unquestionable that this sort of action lowers the threat posed by nuclear missiles. It is also a great boon that it is done unilaterally, which means that there is no need for coordination and haggling, which can spell the death of any positive initiative. However, political declarations must be followed up with concrete actions. We will probably learn in a week's time what exactly these actions will be. We have been firmly promised an interview at the Strategic Forces Main Staff.

Media Reporting Blamed for Attacks on Patrols

PM1102142792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Major A. Ivanov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "As Soon As the Press Features a Report About the Black Market Price for Weapons, the Demand for Them Increases. From the Air Defense Forces Main Staff"]

[Text] In intensive reports about the black market price of an assault rifle or pistol, the press, television, and radio probably do not suspect that they are thereby indirectly provoking criminal attacks on military installations and patrols.

"I do not want to draw analogies, but judge for yourselves," Major General of Aviation Ye. Makoklyuyev, first deputy chief of the Air Defense Forces Main Staff, said. "No sooner was a tidy sum mentioned on television at the weekend for the value of these weapons than reports from the troops began to feature tragic cases of attacks on sentries with the aim of seizing weapons and ammunition."

Thus in one battalion stationed on the outskirts of Baku on 2 February at 2200 hours intruders covertly entered the area adjacent to the depot, approached the sentry I. Israymov and stabbed him five times.

Private V. Nikolayenko, who was on sentry duty 3 February at 0400 hours, received a knife wound in the chest. His lung was punctured. This happened at an anti-aircraft missile unit stationed in Tallinn. In both cases weapons and ammunition were stolen and soldiers ended up in hospital in a serious condition.

The Air Defense Forces command is alarmed by these criminal attacks, which have become more frequent. In January alone there were four such attacks, and last year there were 36.

Armed Forces Day Celebrations Previewed

PM1102155792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 1

[Interview with Colonel A. Zyuskevich, deputy chairman of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces Committee for Work with Personnel, by correspondent V. Semenov; place and date not given: "There Will Be a Celebration on Our Street Too—Armed Forces Day"]

[Excerpts] [Semenov] Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, in our chaotic, unstable times talk of festivals is probably inappropriate. However... The question of 23 February is increasingly being raised in letters, particularly from frontline veterans. It is natural enough: Only yesterday the calendar bore the note—Soviet Army and Navy Day. Now it is missing from the list of official dates. Does that mean the traditional festival will not take place?

[Zyuskevich] I want to reassure all readers, above all our veterans, that the Russian leadership and also the Armed Forces Main Command believe that it is an essential festival. And it must be celebrated in an untendentious and ungrandiose way as Armed Forces Day.

As for Moscow itself, there will be a ceremony on the evening of 21 February. It will be organized by Moscow City Hall and the Moscow Military District command. President B. Yeltsin and ministers have been invited. Mayor G. Popov of Moscow and Deputy Mayor Yu. Luzhkov have confirmed that they will be attending. Invitations have been sent out to representatives of committees and ministries dealing with defense matters in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries.

It is expected that around 50 Pentagon generals and officers will be at the ceremony. Representatives of the diplomatic corps will be there too, of course, as is the tradition. [passage omitted]

[Semenov] It is no secret that the festival not only used to be accompanied by great pomp and ceremony, but also paraded rigid ideological stereotypes.

[Zyuskevich] Common sense suggests that this year's festival should be given an emotional and educational impetus. It is perfectly natural to talk about the fatherland's military history, the Armed Forces' combat traditions, the moral complexion of the country's defenders, and their selfless service. There is every opportunity to do this in a fine, intelligent, and sensible way.

Here is just an indication of the thinking behind it. The scenario for the evening of 21 February in our capital will not be banal. It will lack the tiresome "ceremonial part." It will begin with... a concert. Although I would point out that the schedule includes congratulations from the mayor and a speech by Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces... [passage omitted]

[Semenov] Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, concerning Moscow. Is there a favorable prognosis of the psychological reaction of people who heard the clanking of tank tracks beneath their windows during the unforgettable August days and nights?

[Zyuskevich] There have not been any soundings, indeed they are scarcely necessary, considering public opinion concerning the Armed Forces. There has been enough time, I think, for people on all rungs of the social ladder to weigh and objectively evaluate the genuine role of the Army, in particular during the grim days of last August. I would point out that both men and officers and a whole clutch of important military leaders did all they could to prevent a tragedy, to prevent the Army from following the criminal order and turning its bayonets against the people. There is the belief that the Muscovites look most kindly on the military, on their Army.

[Semenov] Recently politicians of various political hues have been declaring: The Army is with us! I even read an announcement somewhere of some kind of sensational event arranged for 23 February...

[Zyuskevich] Unfortunately, people in our electric society are still trying to play the army card. Moscow is no exception in this respect. Ultrapatriots, various fundamentalists, and right-wing conservative forces have been particularly keen. I do not rule out the possibility that some servicemen might succumb to exhortation and promises. But I am sure that this, if it occurs, will not be a general phenomenon. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Shevardnadze Addresses 'Unstable Situation'

AU1202100392 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1920 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Dirk Sager; place and date not given; Shevardnadze statements in Russian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Sager] In February 1991, that is to say one year ago, demonstrations were held in Moscow. The communists would demonstrate one Sunday in support of the old order, the following Sunday, it was the democrats' turn to protest against the power of the central authorities. The military and police stood on the side of the old apparatus. The democrats were disappointed with Gorbachev's reform policy, which changed a lot but suffered setbacks, and which failed particularly in one objective, namely to stop the economic decline and improve the supply situation in the country. What happened behind the scenes was also reflected in the streets—the struggle for power. This is when you came up with your warning of an imminent coup.

[Shevardnadze] The danger persists, and it might even be greater than before the coup last August. Developments are taking place against an unfavorable background: economic crisis, high social tension, poor living conditions. This is why I am most worried about the situation in society in Russia and the other republics.

[Sager] Where does the potential danger come from? From the nationalists on the right wing, or from the communists?

[Shevardnadze] I do not differentiate between those two groups because, in this situation, they may and will join forces. We already have the process of the unification of the right, reactionary, and—I would say—ultraconservative forces. This process is under way, and the demonstrations held in Moscow last weekend are proof of it.

[Sager] Will the Soviet Army—comparable to the German Reichswehr in the past—become an antidemocratic force?

[Shevardnadze] Look, it is impossible to make a definite statement about the Soviet Army. The Army is divided, which is why today it is difficult to isolate the most important processes. However, on the whole, this comparison is correct—for Russia and the other republics.

The Army members worry a lot. The officers' living conditions are deteriorating, which influences their way of thinking, their way of looking at developments in the country.

Still, one must also mention another group within the Army—the democratically minded officers and veterans. They also constitute an impressive force. It is hard to say which side is stronger—the leftist or the rightist forces. Yet, the fact that unrest is spreading among the Army while developments are so complicated is worrying.

[Sager] In recent weeks, sources in West European capitals have stated that the Cold War has really ended only now that the big Soviet Union has ceased to exist. Is the world today really safer than it was one or two years ago?

[Shevardnadze] I do not think so. My worries are caused mainly by the unstable situation in the former Soviet Union. The most difficult thing is that the transition to the new situation just happened somehow, virtually overnight. This has created dangerous destructive processes. Look, nobody remembers the reasons for the disagreement between the Ukraine and Russia, or disputes between other states. These are the problems that are in the foreground now, and they might lead to severe conflicts.

The road to stability is still long. Yet, an unstable Soviet Union is an enormous danger. Its immense military potential constitutes a great danger for the entire world.

[Sager] Prices are increasing, production is shrinking because more and more factories have to shut down because they cannot get the necessary raw materials. Is it possible to achieve democracy under such circumstances?

[Shevardnadze] That is the most critical question. Unless it is possible to place the economy and finances on a sound footing in Russia and the other states, it is safe to say that, on the political level, the current democratic leaders and democratic institutions are coming under pressure from rightist—probably reactionary—politicians and forces. And I have to say that these forces might be supported by the people. People in a miserable, starving country are difficult to convince that they should support democratic institutions. For a certain time to come it will still be possible to defend democracy. However, without the necessary economic conditions, and against the background of deteriorating living conditions, the democratic institutions will not be able to ward off the pressure. That is a very serious danger for all countries.

Poll Conducted on Price Increases, Income

OW1102124892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0609 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **Is It Time To Protest Price Increases?**

Are you ready to join the march against price increases? Four out of ten people surveyed in Kazakhstan, 39% of the Russians and one third of Ukrainians answered "Yes".

According to the data provided by the National Public Opinion Studies Center (VCIOM), 45% of the Ukrainian population, four out of ten Russians, and 36% of the Kazakhs still aren't angry enough to take to the streets.

Others were unable to answer.

The "DATA" agency reported that 1,597 people were surveyed in Russia, 517 in Ukraine and 940 in Kazakhstan.

What Income Do You Count On?

The majority of those surveyed in Russia (68%), the Ukraine (71%), and Kazakhstan (51%) count on salaries, pensions, and stipends when considering the future of their families.

26% surveyed in Kazakhstan, 17% in Russia, and 12% in the Ukraine plan on additional income.

12% of Kazakhs, 10% of Ukrainians and 6% of Russians rely on help from relatives.

Only 9% of those surveyed in Kazakhstan, 8% in the Ukraine, and 5% in Russia are relying on personal savings.

7% of the population in Kazakhstan, 6% in Russia, and 4% in Ukraine are counting on commerce and private businesses, whereas only 5% of Kazakhs, 2% of Russians and 1% of Ukrainians plan on government help and charitable organizations.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 12 Feb

LD1202071592 Moscow TASS in English 0641 GMT 12 Feb 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 12 ITAR-TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports a session of the collegium of the former Soviet Defence Ministry, which decided to request the Russian Government to take urgent steps for creating the Armed Forces and the Defence Ministry of the Russian Federation.

"Despite some differences concerning the future and principles of the use of conventional armed forces, leaders of the sovereign states still displayed enough responsibility and restraint in tackling most seriously the problem of nuclear forces," Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] allied Armed Forces, said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

In his opinion, if a corresponding decision is taken, the working out of a single nuclear security system and a "global" anti- ballistic missile system with the participation of Russia and the United States will take at least five to ten years.

Specialists from the Centre of Operational and Strategic Studies at the main headquarters of the CIS Armed Forces have contributed an article to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, in which they support the working out a national security concept for the Commonwealth and its newly created member states.

"CIS member states should, in the first place, define clearly their views on the problem of ensuring national security and coordinate them with each other," the

authors of the article believe. "Any country, which has not worked out a national security concept meeting the requirements of the current situation, is sure to face serious difficulties, and in a situation involving a direct military threat it is doomed to destruction."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with Justice Colonel Mikhail Matakin, head of the legal service of the CIS Armed Forces, who participated in the working out of proposals on the Army and Navy problems for a regular CIS summit in Minsk.

"Twenty draft agreements have been worked out. As the priority step, it is suggested that the heads of state sign a number of documents confirming that until new resolutions within the CIS framework are adopted, the organisation and activities of the Armed Forces will be regulated by the agreements of the CIS member states and for the former Soviet Union, if they do not contradict the above mentioned agreements," Matakin said.

PRAVDA publishes a large article by Dmitriy Valovoy, doctor of economy, who believes the reforms started in Russia by Yegor Gaydar will be like a "nuclear bomb" for the national economy.

"If the government does not turn its attention to the production sphere and does not give a green light to technical progress, but continues to count on the Gaydar taxes, emission and exactions, the future of the Yeltsin decrees will be as deplorable as that of the decrees issued by Gorbachev," Valovoy believes.

Commenting on Russia's domestic problems, PRAVDA writes: "When listening to various statements by Russian leaders and reading presidential decrees and parliamentary resolutions, one may get the impression that they are too carried away by establishing their own monopoly on decision-making on the crucial issues dealing with the life of the Federation ... Russia is seriously ill, and many of the physicians who gathered at its bedside are more concerned with furthering their own ambitions than with curing the patient."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes the results of its first monthly public opinion poll aimed at defining who of the politicians made the strongest impact on Russia's life during a period under observation. In January this year most of the polled named Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk (his impact was mostly described as negative).

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries a large article about Yuriy Vladimirovich Petrov, head of the apparatus of the Russian president. Some participants in the Sunday [9 February] rallies in Moscow demanded his resignation on the grounds that he was a member of the ruling elite of the past regime.

The newspaper believes that Yeltsin regards Petrov as "his old associate whom he can trust completely."

"After the Sunday rallies I called Petrov and asked him about Yeltsin's response to those developments. According to Petrov, Yeltsin reacts to the rallies calmly and soberly, just the way he should, and is in no hurry to dismiss his aides," the author of the article wrote.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA predicts that the growth of the price of paper, of printing and delivery expenditures will soon lead to the closing down of many central newspapers of the country. "We are on the threshold of a global information crisis," the newspaper believes.

International Relations

Yeltsin Speaks to Diplomatic Heads in Moscow

LD1102203492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the ceremony of presenting the heads of diplomatic representations to the president of the Russian Federation took place in the Kremlin. One hundred and twenty-seven ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary, charges d'affaires, heads of representations that are accredited in Moscow took part in the ceremony. According to tradition, the ambassadors are presented in order of seniority and the period of their sojourn in the country. This is Boris Yeltsin's second meeting with the diplomatic corps. The first one was just over six months ago.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] In coming out into the world, Russia intends to conduct an honest, open, moral policy which is not subordinated to ideological diktat. Our main priority is the interests of the Russian people who value peace not less, but perhaps even more than others, bearing in mind the consequences of World War II. Like everyone they desire health and stability, they are interested in a precise guarantee of the rights and freedoms of a citizen and human being in keeping with international rules. Today, perhaps for the first time in history there is a real possibility of moving away for ever from confrontation between the East and the West. The "cold war" has ended. Respected ladies and gentlemen, we are acquiring new friends and allies today. I would like to assure you that Russia does not intend to cancel out all the positive things that were done by our predecessors. First and foremost, this applies to Russia's attitude to the states in the east of Europe and other states. A strongly democratic Russia—and this is exactly how our citizens want to see it—will never become an empire again. On the contrary, it is our aim to become involved, together with other countries of the world, in the process of asserting the ideals of humanism, freedom and democracy in the community of mankind. [end recording]

The reply was delivered by Pascal Antoine Sane, ambassador of Senegal, doyen, head and elder of the diplomatic corps. He wished the President of Russia and its people success and a happy future.

Warns Reform Not 'Irreversible'

LD1102202592 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow February 11 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow in the St. George Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace here today.

It is, actually, the first meeting of the sort with the diplomatic corps after Russia became independent, the Russian president told the foreign diplomats.

Yeltsin stressed the novelty and succession of the Russian foreign policy. "Entering the world, Russia intends to carry out an honest, open and moral policy, which is not subordinated to the ideological dictate. Our top priority is the interests of the Russian people," said the president.

"We are ready for broad cooperation with the West, the East, the North and the South," he pointed out.

"There is a real possibility today to part forever with the confrontation between the West and the East," Yeltsin said. Russia will actively work together with other countries to form "a new logic of the world development and new interstate relations."

They have already managed to find a common language and mutual understanding in the nuclear disarmament sphere, which the Russian president described as "the conversion of all areas of the international community's life".

Yeltsin stressed the significance of democratic changes on the territory of the former Soviet Union and the formation of new relations between new sovereign states. They are "a major condition for the stability in the world and the success of reform in each of the Commonwealth member states", the president believes.

The economic reform in Russia "has not become irreversible," he said, thus, efforts, contributing to the transformation of the Russian economy, including those on the part of other countries, are very important. Boris Yeltsin expressed the assurance "Russia will certainly gain in strength".

Senegalese ambassador and doyen of the diplomatic corps in Moscow Pascal Antoine Sane made a return speech. He wished Russia and its people success in the fulfillment of the reforms.

Journalists Remark on Speech

OW1202153192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Journalists invited to St. George's hall in the Kremlin on February 11 to cover the ceremony of the presentation of diplomatic missions' heads accredited in Moscow to the Russian president, paid attention to a passage from Yeltsin's speech the full text of which had been distributed among them previously. It ran as follows: "Every thousand dollars invested here strengthens

stability in Russia and moves us farther from the possibility of revenge sought by the bolshevist and nationalist forces. But let's refrain from exaggeration. Last Sunday's [9 February] developments showed that 74 years of communist power had not passed without leaving a trace. A majority of Russians are not susceptible to the communist plague."

Nevertheless "the anti-communist theme" in the President's actual speech was not too pronounced:

"...a majority of Russians are not susceptible to the communist idea".

Evidently at the last moment Yeltsin decided to tone down, mindful of the fact that last week meetings were held not only in his support but also with calls for his resignation.

Text of Russian-French Treaty Issued

PM1102150192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 92 First Edition pp 1, 3

["Treaty Between Russia and France" dated 7 February 1992, Paris and signed by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and by French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Edith Cresson, and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas under the rubric "Russia and the World"]

[Text] The Russian Federation and the French Republic,

taking long-standing traditions of concord, friendship, and cooperation as a basis,

affirming that the Russian Federation is the successor state to the USSR,

seeking to lend a new quality to their relations,

convinced of the need for rapprochement between them on the basis of partnership, mutual trust, and adherence to the common values of freedom, democracy, justice, and solidarity,

fully resolved to finally overcome the consequences of the split of the world and of Europe into opposing blocs,

true to the pledges stemming from international law and, in particular, the UN Charter,

confirming the pledges they adopted within the framework of the CSCE,

aware of their special responsibility as permanent members of the UN Security Council in the matter of maintaining international peace and security,

taking account of the EC member states' decision to create a European union,

and taking account of the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States,

have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The Russian Federation and the French Republic, true to the traditional friendship and mutual sympathy between the two countries' peoples, will develop a new relationship of concord founded on trust, solidarity, and cooperation.

Article 2

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will pool their efforts with a view to helping to ensure international security and to prevent conflicts, as well as helping to implement effectively the provisions of the UN Charter and to ensure the primacy of international law. The sides will cooperate, in particular, within the framework of competent international organizations, with a view to protecting human rights and democratic values.

Article 3

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will broaden and deepen consultations between the two governments. The subject of these consultations will be the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe and the world, the search for solutions to major international problems, the development of bilateral relations, and also any other questions of mutual interest. The sides will strive for the maximum possible coordination of their positions in these spheres with a view to implementing joint or concerted actions when they deem this necessary.

If situations arise which, in the opinion of one of the sides, pose a threat to peace, constitute a breach of the peace, or create international tension, the governments of Russia and France will make contact without delay for the purpose of consultations on all aspects of these situations and the maximum possible coordination of their positions to achieve concord in respect of measures that would make it possible to improve the position or cope with the situation and to take joint actions. If one of the sides considers that there is a situation that affects its supreme security interests, it may ask the other side for consultations on this question without delay.

Article 4

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will pool their efforts to establish new relations in the sphere of security among all European states and to build a peaceful and solitary Europe endowed with permanent security and cooperation mechanisms.

The sides emphasize the role that the CSCE must play in this respect. They will cooperate with a view to strengthening its institutions and imparting to it the appropriate means, particularly juridical means, to ensure stability and security on the continent. Russia and France also note the corresponding contribution being made to the strengthening of European security by various international structures, particularly the CSCE, the Western European Union [WEU], and the North Atlantic Alliance.

The sides will cooperate with each other and with other interested states with a view to concluding a treaty on European security. The French Republic emphasizes the importance of forming a European union which, providing in particular for the implementation of a joint foreign policy and a security policy, will make it possible to strengthen cooperation among European states and will make a substantial contribution to stability on the continent and in the world as a whole. The Russian Federation takes note of this. France will assist the establishment of relations of cooperation between Russia and the WEU and also other international organizations which promote European security.

Article 5

The Russian Federation and the French Republic are convinced of the decisive contribution of agreements in the sphere of disarmament to the cause of European and international security. They agree with the need for arms, particularly nuclear arms, to be determined by the level of minimum sufficiency. The sides will continue to participate within the CSCE framework in the processes of the balanced reduction of conventional arms and to promote the elaboration of new confidence-building measures among all the participant states. The sides will promote the conclusion of agreements of the same kind in other parts of the world. They attach special significance to measures aimed at preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and will act concertedly to this end in international organizations.

Article 6

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will promote the transformation of Europe into a common rule-of-law and democratic area. They will help to prevent the emergence of new splits on the European continent and to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between themselves and among all European states within the framework of a confederative approach.

The French Republic, taking into account the Russian Federation's pledges with regard to observing the norms laid down by the Council of Europe in the sphere of democracy and human rights, supports its joining this organization. France pledges to promote rapprochement between the EC and Russia, particularly by means of concluding agreements between them, with a view to assisting its integration in the European economy. France's pledges under bilateral Russian-French agreements are in accordance with the competence attaching to the EC and with the juridical norms accepted by the founders of this community.

Article 7

The Russian Federation and the French Republic pledge to develop cooperation within the framework of the international economic system. The sides will cooperate, in particular, in various international financial establishments and economic organizations of which they are members for the purposes of setting up effective mechanisms to stabilize the prices of raw material commodities. France will assist Russia's participation in or joining of international financial establishments and economic organizations of which the latter is not a member. The sides will cooperate closely within the framework of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Article 8

The Russian Federation and the French Republic have agreed that top-level meetings will be held at least once a year and also whenever the need for this arises, particularly by way of effecting unofficial working contacts. The foreign ministers will hold consultations when necessary and not less than twice a year. Close cooperation will be established between the departments which they head. Meetings will be held between other members of the two states' governments on questions of mutual interest.

Article 9

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will develop and deepen contacts along military lines. To this end the sides will draw up bilateral exchange programs. On a bilateral and multilateral basis they will regularly exchange opinions on concepts of defense and the organization of armed forces.

Article 10

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will develop cooperation in the sphere of democratic institutions and the rule-of-law state. This cooperation will be set up, in particular, in the following areas:

—constitutional, legislative, and administrative norms;
—constitutional oversight and the monitoring of the execution of laws;
—citizens' rights with regard to administrative organs;
—civil freedoms; human rights; the rights of national minorities;
—electoral systems.

Article 11

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will develop cooperation in the spheres of the economy, industry, science, and technology. Close cooperation will be effected in spheres of special significance to the future of both states and to the prospect of creating a European area, particularly in the following fields:

—the agro-industrial complex;
—power generation;
—the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes, particularly safety in nuclear power generation;
—transportation, the infrastructure and corresponding equipment;
—telecommunications and high-definition television;
—space;
—industrial conversion;
—the trade network.

The sides will encourage the establishment of direct cooperation between participants in the two countries' economic activity.

Article 12

Wishing to assist the Russian Federation's transfer to a market economy founded on the principles of free enterprise, social justice, and solidarity and also being convinced of the close connection between growth in society's material well-being and its democratization, the Russian Federation and the French Republic have agreed to draw up cooperation and cadre-training programs. To this end they attach special significance to promoting the modernization of organs of state management, enterprises, trade unions, and other organizations with a social thrust. The sides will promote the realization of cadre-training programs, which can be implemented within the framework of efforts being made at the European and international levels. The sides will also develop cooperation in the social sphere and the sphere of health care.

Article 13

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will make efforts to create favorable conditions for the working of the other side's enterprises. Each side will encourage and protect the other side's capital investments on its territory. They will organize as wide an exchange of economic information as possible and ensure access to it for business people and scientists of both countries.

Article 14

The Russian Federation and the French Republic attach paramount significance to environmental protection. They will strengthen bilateral cooperation and help to build up concerted actions in this sphere on a European and an international scale.

Article 15

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will develop cooperation in the sphere of basic and applied research, including with regard to the possibility of the economic and industrial introduction of its results. The sides will help to advance joint projects which could be entered into European and international programs. In the sphere of advanced technologies the sides will encourage, while respecting their national regulations, various forms of partnership and joint developments, mindful, in particular, of the increase in the level of competence and efficiency of participants in industrial activity.

Article 16

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will arrange close cooperation between scientific research institutes, particularly by means of exchanging scientific workers.

Article 17

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will develop exchanges in the spheres of culture, art, education, and information, particularly audiovisual information. The sides will devote special attention to projects that can help to create an all-European cultural area. They will support by all possible means the study and spread of the French language in Russia and the Russian language in France. Direct ties will be encouraged between top educational institutions, research centers, organizations, and people involved in cultural activity. There will also be encouragement for cooperation initiatives on an innovative plane, such as cadre training in the cultural sphere, the protection of national property, translation, publishing, and joint publishing activity, and also cooperation between universities. The sides will assist the creation and activities of cultural centers on their territories.

Article 18

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will encourage contacts between their peoples, particularly exchanges between Russian and French young people.

Article 19

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will promote contacts and cooperation between the two states' parliaments and parliamentarians.

Article 20

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will encourage direct ties between administrative-territorial units, particularly by means of twinning, in accordance with the aims of this treaty. They will develop humanitarian cooperation, including by promoting the activities of both countries' charitable organizations.

Article 21

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will promote cooperation between the two states' judicial establishments, including in the sphere of mutual assistance on civil cases. They will arrange cooperation between law-enforcement organs in the sphere of public safety, particularly in the matter of the struggle against organized crime, illegal drug trafficking, and smuggling, including illegal movements of works of art across borders. The sides will seek to organize corresponding cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism.

Article 22

The Russian Federation and the French Republic pledge to reach agreement as soon as possible on the settlement of mutual financial and property claims concerning the interests and property of physical and juridical persons in the two countries.

Article 23

The Russian Federation and the French Republic pledge to take the necessary measures aimed at simplifying on a reciprocal basis the procedure for issuing and extending

visas. Each side will assist in every possible way on a reciprocal basis the activity on its territory of diplomatic missions and consular establishments of the other side.

Article 24

The Russian Federation and the French Republic will, where necessary, conclude separate agreements and accords with a view to realizing the provisions of this treaty. They will continue fulfilling the existing bilateral agreements and will revise them if necessary.

Article 25

The provisions of this treaty in no way affect the sides' pledges in respect of third states and are not directed against any of them.

Article 26

This treaty is to be ratified in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each of the sides and will come into force 30 days after the exchange of instruments of ratification. This treaty is concluded for a period of 10 years. Its validity will be automatically extended for the following five-year periods if neither side informs the other of its decision to denounce the treaty by means of a written notification one year before the expiry of the corresponding period.

Done at Paris on 7 February 1992 in two copies, each in the Russian and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Russian Federation
Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation; Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs

For the French Republic
Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic; Edith Cresson, prime minister; Roland Dumas, state minister and minister of foreign affairs

Yeltsin Trip to Paris Evaluated

PM1102120992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko: "Russian President Secures Support in France for Our Economic Reforms"]

[Text] Paris—"Generosity consists not so much in giving a great deal as giving at the right time..." This saying by the French writer Jean de la Bruyere was quoted by the Russian president in his dinner speech at the Grand Trianon, Versailles, on the first day of his visit to Paris. It is clear that the great thinker's aphorism fell on well-prepared ground.

On the very next day, during a luncheon in Boris Yeltsin's honor, Prime Minister Edith Cresson reported that France would allocate Russia a total of 3.5 billion francs [Fr]—Fr500,000 more than previously intended. This is one of the tangible results of Boris Yeltsin's visit to France, which ended Friday [7 February] with the signing by the two presidents of the main document—the treaty between Russia and France—and a joint news conference. On Thursday [6 February] the ministers signed a series of economic and cultural agreements and protocols, including those on avoiding dual taxation, protecting foreign investments, joint cooperation in the sphere of the mixed economy, and others.

After the signing ceremony it emerged that the Russian Foreign Ministry had prepared a "surprise" for its French colleagues. To mark the revival of the historical traditions of cooperation between the two countries [Russian Foreign Minister] Andrey Kozyrev handed over to them material relating to the years 1837 and 1915 which had been conserved in the Moscow archives. These documents, which were seized from the Germans by our soldiers during World War II, will, in the minister's words, help specialists fill in the blanks in Russian-French ties.

But let us return to the accords reached in Paris. They give grounds for the president's team to express satisfaction at the results of the trip and to claim that the results have surpassed expectations in a number of areas. I believe that the Russian president also set a purely psychological objective alongside the political and economic ones.

At the talks with French leaders and in all his speeches, particularly in his address to business circles at the Paris City Hall, Boris Nikolayevich warned, with no qualms about repeating himself, that today represents Russia's last chance to join the family of democratic and prosperous states. The international community, he stressed, should realize that if our reforms founder, the country will face the threat of a period of dictatorship. The breath of "Red and Brown forces" can already be felt.

The French authorities responded to the appeal and on the whole expressed a readiness to meet us halfway and accord Russia most-favored-nation status. But will they be able to persuade private capital of the need to put massive investment into our collapsed economy?

The credits of Fr3.5 billion, Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar explained to me, will go first and foremost to purchase food and grain plus equipment urgently needed by the metallurgical and chemical industries in certain crisis areas. Moreover, the barter credit for the purchase of sugar and meat in exchange for petroleum and petroleum products endorsed last year has been unblocked. (According to French figures, this is more than Fr2 billion extra).

In the runup to the Russian president's visit serious debate developed here on problems of nuclear security and the reduction of nuclear arsenals, which the Russian president had spoken about in New York.

It seemed to me, that once on the banks of the Seine, the president's team introduced a certain modification to

our "formulation." As a result Boris Nikolayevich confined himself to calling on France not to further build up its nuclear arsenals, whereas he had previously proposed that France be included in the disarmament process. The Russian president's recent proposal on a radical cut in our nuclear potential generated a somewhat guarded reaction here. Even prior to the start of the talks Francois Mitterrand hastened to recall France's position, whereby it will participate in disarmament talks after the American and Russian nuclear arsenals are comparable to the French (500 warheads).

However, our nuclear disarmament program, Kozyrev stressed in conversation with me, is not an attempt to "outdo" Gorbachev but a realistic response to the concern felt by Paris and other Western capitals at the situation regarding our nuclear stockpiles.

It is clear that the Paris talks took yet another step toward the convening on France's initiative of a conference of initially three and then the four powers possessing nuclear weapons in Europe. "It is a pretty good proposal," Marshal Shaposhnikov told me. "We have long advocated the participation of not just the United States and Russia but other powers, too, in the nuclear disarmament process. In the end this is a measure of trust. As far as the persistent offers to assist us in the transfer of nuclear weapons to Russian territory are concerned, we are not that feeble and will manage by ourselves. We have a lot of experience—we have removed missiles from East Europe, the Baltic, and Transcarpathia with complete success. The recovery of plutonium and uranium and its conversion from weapons- to industrial-grade is another matter. There are difficulties here, and it would be no bad thing if countries with higher standards of technology were to agree to cooperate with us."

Speaking at Paris City Hall at midday Thursday [6 February], Boris Nikolayevich thanked the French for showing hospitality to and sheltering hundreds of thousands of our exiled compatriots after the revolution and offering them a roof over their head, work, and the opportunity to bring up their children. That evening he invited representatives of our emigres to the residence of the Russian ambassador, located in the building of the tsarist embassy. Some of them were to cross the threshold of our official establishment for the first time.

A host of distinguished people gathered for this unprecedented meeting, which was conducted, in my view, in a moving and slightly chaotic manner. The invitees included Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich, representatives of the Tolstoy and Benoit family, Prof. Nikita Struve, the writer Maurice Druon, the actress Marina Vlady, Prof. Alexandr Mnouchkine, the artist Oleg Tselkov, and the RUSSKAYA MYSL journalist Aleksandr Ginsburg, who told me that he had not been allowed to visit Russia to date.

Boris Nikolayevich paid tribute to everyone for remaining Russian, preserving our country's culture, not forgeting the language, and for passing this on to their children. "We regard you as our kin."

Working Group Discusses Return of Kurils

LD1102151992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] As is known, the problem of the four Kuril Islands is one of the main hindrances to a peace treaty between Russia and Japan. The Japanese press reports today that the Russian side raised the question of returning two of the four islands, Shikotan and Habomai, during the session in Moscow of the joint working group to prepare a peace treaty. The West German agency DPA in particular reported this from Tokyo. So is it true? We asked the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Pacific and Southeast Asia desk, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Panov. This is what he said:

[Begin Panov recording] This issue was not raised in any way during the session of the permanent working group on a peace treaty between Russia and Japan held 10-11 February. The session agreed that the group will continue its work from now on in a Russian- Japanese format, since previously it was Soviet-Japanese.

Several issues were discussed. The first was the timetable for Russian-Japanese political contacts for the coming period. It was confirmed that Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin will pay an official visit to Japan in mid-September. In this connection, the sides exchanged views on how to prepare for this visit, in particular which accords and agreements could be concluded during it. This exchange of views was of a purely preliminary nature. It was agreed that preparations for the presidential visit will be discussed during a visit to Tokyo by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev, to take place 20-22 March this year.

It was also agreed that Japanese Foreign Minister Watanabe will visit Russia in about May or June this year. Regarding the peace treaty itself between Japan and Russia, the Russian side announced that concluding such a treaty, incorporating a solution to the territorial issue, is one of this country's priority political aims. Apart from this statement of principle, the issue was not discussed.

The Russian side also confirmed that Russia, as successor to the former USSR, assumes the right to honor commitments under all treaties and accords concluded between the USSR and Japan. This confirmation was well received by the Japanese side.

The question was discussed of implementing an agreement on reciprocal visa-free travel by Japanese people to Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan, and Habomai Islands, and by residents of these islands to Japan. The sides agreed that the first exchange of groups will be in April this year.

That is all the issues and the agreements arising from the sitting of the working group.

'Tacit Support' for Islands Given

OW1202001192 Tokyo KYODO in English 2316 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 11 KYODO—Russia has indicated tacit support for Japan's claim to four Russian-held islands off Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkaido, according to a senior Japanese Foreign Ministry official.

Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito told Japanese reporters Tuesday [11 February] that the Russians have turned to take a positive stance on a 1855 bilateral treaty which placed the Japanese-Russian border between Uruppu and Etorofu Islands.

The 1855 treaty of commerce, navigation and delimitation, which was the first inter-state pact between Japan and Russia, established the boundary between Etorofu and Uruppu, and stipulated that the Kuril Islands located north of the border, including Uruppu, belonged to Russia, Japanese officials said.

Etorofu is the northernmost of the four disputed islands seized by the former Soviet Union at the end of World War II. The three others are Kunashir, Shikotan, and the Habomai group of islets.

Saito met the reporters after he led a Japanese delegation during two days of talks with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze and his team on Monday and Tuesday.

The Japanese and Russian negotiators discussed a settlement to the decades-long territorial dispute to conclude a peace treaty.

Saito said the Russians nodded in agreement when he told them that Japan and Russia had established the boundary between Uruppu and Etorofu peacefully in 1855.

The Japanese official also said he was impressed with the Russian side's energetic approach to solving the territorial dispute.

Importance of Treaty Stressed

LD1102223992 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 11 February (TASS)—The two-day sitting of the permanently operating working group for a peace treaty between Russia and Japan completed its work in Moscow today.

In the course of the negotiations the sides reached an accord on the continuation in a Russian-Japanese format of the work of the group to prepare a peace treaty between both countries. Previously this group had been preparing a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan. [passage omitted]

In the course of the negotiations Russia's representatives stressed that the conclusion of the Russian-Japanese peace treaty, including the resolution of the territorial issue, is one of the country's major and priority political tasks. They confirmed that Russia, as the successor of the former USSR, assumes the obligations under all treaties and agreements which the USSR concluded with Japan. [passage omitted]

Burbulis Discusses 'Crisis-Stricken' Economy

OW1102194792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1850 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy premier of Russia, met in Moscow on Tuesday [11 February] with Jean Louis Cadieux, deputy head of the General Directorate of the EC Foreign Affairs Commission. The meeting was attended by Ivan Silayev, who was appointed about one month ago Russia's permanent envoy to the EC, and Michael Emerson, head of the Moscow representation of the Commission of Economic Communities. The parties reaffirmed their commitment to the earlier concluded agreements on credits and cooperation programs.

Discussing the current problems and accomplishments of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], G. Burbulis said Russia should build its relations with the other CIS member states on the basis of "clarity, responsibility and constructiveness".

On the internal situation he said: "We are crisis-stricken, but not defeated. The reforms are irreversible and will be seen through. Our major task is to make them as painless and popularly attractive as possible."

As became clear from the talks, the Commission of Economic Communities intends to conclude a trade and cooperation agreement with Russia.

Kozyrev Talks in Turkey, Implications Viewed

PM1102150992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Turkey Follows United States in Becoming 'Ally of the New Russia'"]

[Text] "The era of confrontation in Russian-Turkish relations has ended. We have given up the struggle for influence in the Black Sea region and prefer to count on cooperation and partnership." Talking to journalists aboard an aircraft en route to Moscow from Ankara, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev did not hide his satisfaction with the results of his first official visit to Turkey.

Kozyrev and his Turkish colleague Hikmet Cetin initialed a treaty on principles for bilateral relations (the final name has yet to be agreed). It will be signed at the highest level. Initially it was proposed that the two

countries' presidents would do this. But Yeltsin's work schedule will hardly allow him to find time for a visit to Ankara in the next few months. While Turkish President Turgut Ozal visited Moscow last spring and, according to unwritten diplomatic tradition, it is now our turn. To all appearances the treaty will be signed in April—during Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel's visit to the Russian capital.

According to the diplomats who participated in the talks between Kozyrev and Turkish leaders, as of today there is virtually not a single question left in bilateral relations causing serious differences. "It seems that Russia is acquiring one more ally after the United States," a delegation member commented on the trip's results.

Instability of Russian-Ukrainian Relations Concerns Turkey

In conversations with Kozyrev, both Ozal and Demirel showed particular interest in the state of affairs in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. The worsening relations between Moscow and Kiev, the simmering territorial dispute over the Crimea, and the uncertainty of the Black Sea Fleet's fate are causing Turkey grave concern.

Ankara is strictly adhering to neutrality in the Russian-Ukrainian dispute, stressing that it is a matter of relations between two independent states. However, it is obvious that in the case of a sharp exacerbation of the confrontation between the former USSR's two largest republics, Turkey would not be able to stay on the sidelines. Whoever the Black Sea Fleet's ships belong to, their route to the Atlantic lies through Turkish straits. For example, Ankara's go-ahead was needed to enable Russia to withdraw the Admiral Kuznetsov to "safe" Murmansk. According to our diplomats in Istanbul, at that moment the Turkish authorities showed understanding and let the "pride of the Black Sea Fleet" through unhindered.

Ankara States It Is Against Pan-Turkism

The Turks have dispelled (at any rate, they have tried to dispel) Moscow's fears in connection with other republics of the former Union. Turkish leaders assured Kozyrev that Ankara will not seek to wage a struggle against Russia for spheres of influence in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. "We are against pan-Turkism and Islamic fundamentalism," government head Demirel told the Russian minister. "This approach by Turkey inspires optimism. It allows us to hope that the Muslims of the former USSR's republics will not proceed down the path of fundamentalism and political backwardness, and that they will join the European (now the Euroasian) democratic process," Kozyrev said in an interview aboard the aircraft.

The Central Asian states and Azerbaijan now face a choice: The Turkish option for a secular state oriented toward Western values, or the Iranian way of religious fanaticism and intolerance. Moscow does not hide the fact that the civilized Turkish way of development for its neighbors would suit us much better. It seems that the former Union's Muslim republics are also inclined toward this option.

Turkey Is Becoming Black Sea Region's Economic Center

An additional argument in favor of the Turkish option is this country's economic successes, thanks to which it is gradually turning into a powerful regional center. The conference of Black Sea states' foreign ministers held in Istanbul at the beginning of the week showed that Ankara is playing, and in the next few years will continue to play, a leading role in the Black Sea basin. The Turkish idea of a regional economic association, which in time could become a political association, received approval from all the meeting's participants. According to Kozyrev, the creation of a Black Sea economic cooperation zone will help the region's countries overcome old antagonisms (Turkey-Greece, Turkey-Bulgaria, Armenia-Azerbaijan). However, Russian delegation members recognize that for a while yet it is impossible to say with certainty whether the mechanism launched in Istanbul will work. Many of the adopted document's provisions are of a declarative nature; they must be confirmed by specific accords.

Turkish leaders let it be known during the conversations that they do not intend to actively support either side in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Turkey proposes to act as intermediary in settling the conflict and favors the normal development of relations with Armenia. True, Yerevan rejects the preconditions being put forward by Ankara (specifically Armenia's renunciation of territorial claims).

One of the central questions in Kozyrev's Ankara talks was the state of the Russian economy and the fate of reforms. (Incidentally, they are in many respects similar to the reforms Turkey started implementing 10 years ago and which at first proceeded no less painfully than ours).

As expected, no new Turkish credits were announced. Back in the Soviet era Ankara apparently exhausted its meager opportunities (by Western standards) to assist our economy's development. Fortunately, Turkish entrepreneurs' interest in the Russian market is being maintained, which allows us to hope for an increase in capital investments.

Kozyrev Discusses POWs, Upcoming Baker Visit

LD0902033692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian Federation's foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, has met with the United States ambassador to Moscow, Robert Strauss, to discuss the fate of the Soviet prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan. The Russian Foreign Ministry says the two men also focussed on relations between their countries in the run up for Secretary Baker's visit to Moscow. The U.S. secretary of

state will be expected to meet with President Yeltsin. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, they will discuss, besides arms control, the position of the Soviet Union's nuclear experts so as to prevent their employment by third nations.

NATO Officials in Siberia To Coordinate Aid

OW1102124592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1124 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of the NATO coordinating council for humanitarian aid to CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries have arrived in Irkutsk, Ulan-Ude and Chita where they are organizing the reception and delivery of goods that will be brought by four planes for local orphanages and old folks' homes. Meanwhile, on Monday [10 February] an Ilyushin-76 arrived in Irkutsk from Fairbanks, Alaska, bringing 25 tons of medicines worth over $2 million.

Food Aid To Be Redirected If Misused

MK1102100092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 6

[Report by Ivan Rodin: "Aid: Humanitarian Freight May Change Destination. EC Experts Fix Near-Market Prices for Meat"]

[Text] By 24 February 54 aircraft are to have landed on Commonwealth territory carrying food aid from the United States. Some 25 of them are for Russia, the first two will moreover be unloaded in both capitals, while the rest are for major cities in the European part of Russia, Siberia, and the Urals. The charitable freight will also be delivered to all capitals and large cities in all the Commonwealth states.

Aleksandr Shokhin, Russian minister of labor and employment (chairman of the Commission for International Humanitarian and Technical Aid), said that the local authorities that receive the aid should meet two basic requirements: they must ensure that the aid goes to a specific address, and that there is total glasnost—then the deliveries will be fast and well-organized. If these requirements are not met, the federal authorities will redirect the humanitarian freight to other regions by way of penalty. Aleksandr Shokhin also asked the meeting [not further specified] what legislative acts are needed for normal work and said that for his part he would raise this issue at the next Russian Government session without fail. A special presidential decree may very well be adopted.

Yuriy Kolesnichenko, deputy head of Moscow's Committee for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, described the capital's experience in receiving and guarding humanitarian aid. He said that a special system has been formulated for aid received from the EC Commission virtually ruling out any chance of its being stolen both en route or at local level and that any attempts of the kind had been successfully stopped. The Moscow Internal Affairs Administration is cooperating in this with representatives of the city administration, the customs service, and EC experts and observers. All 137 Moscow stores where food aid is being sold (butter and meat at 50 and 60 rubles respectively) are under constant supervision. Yuriy Kolesnichenko believes that there is far more trouble with humanitarian aid being sent to Western charitable organizations operating in Moscow (for instance, Medecins Sans Frontieres, the German Red Cross, and so on) and distributed free of charge. There have been abuses here; however, this senior militia official said that during a selective check of 15 commercial stores in the city there was no sign of free food aid in marketable quantities. It was explained that this meant canned meat, canned fruit and vegetables, macaroni products, baby food, and dried milk.

The meeting voiced a high opinion of Moscow's experience and decided to recommend that it be extended elsewhere, and then they listened to Michael Emerson, EC ambassador in Moscow. He explained that humanitarian aid is coming in three different areas. First, the classic area, that is, free provision of goods; second, an experimental area—or, as the ambassador himself defined it, the social-market area; and, third, allocation of ordinary credit on the strength of the foreign debt to procure grain and meat abroad. Michael Emerson dwelt in greater detail on the second area, the second kind of aid. He explained that 150,000 tonnes of food (100,000 for Moscow and 50,000 for St. Petersburg) would be sold and the money would go to social funds. The sale would be carried out in two ways: either "a little at a time" in each state store at fixed prices, which EC experts have set as close to market prices as possible, or in large batches at closed auctions where wholesalers would fight for contracts. The money from the auctions would also go to social funds. Mr. Emerson believes that it is the second kind of humanitarian aid that will make it possible to stir the state trade structures that are stagnating in idleness and at the same time help form market structures.

Delay in Aiding Reforms Could Be 'Tragic'

PM1102152992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "Western Delay With Support for B. Yeltsin's Economic Reforms Could be the Most Tragic Blunder of the 20th Century"]

[Text] By leaving the economic reforms in Russia to the whim of fate during the weeks of greatest crisis the West's leaders are committing one of the most tragic blunders of the 20th century. The West will still have to pay for the advantages of life in a peaceful world, but the longer it takes the more it will cost. Possibly the cost will be measured not just in money.

The rich countries are being astonishingly slow to deliver the long-promised aid. Tens of tonnes of powdered milk, sugar, and other foodstuffs have built up in the ports of New Orleans and Philadelphia. There are no transport ships to carry them—but there were plenty when it was decided to crush Saddam Husayn.

The problems of financial help promised long ago are being examined slowly and at great length. The figures mentioned are attractive, but the accompanying verbs are mostly in the future tense. The Russian Government is being given thousands of contradictory recommendations. Aid is accompanied by conditions which are correct in principle and with which the Russians fully concur. However, the point is that much of this advice is virtually impracticable today. And tomorrow, quite probably, there will simply be no one to carry it out.

Even against the background of the close attention with which the West has been following the course of economic reforms in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries from day to day, the reaction to recent decisions of the Russian parliament stands out. The lowering of value added tax from 28 percent to 15 percent and the subsidizing of prices for the most urgent foodstuffs and help for the particularly underprivileged and hard-hit categories of the population will create a budget gap of 25 billion rubles [R]. To many Western financial institutions this sounded like a fundamental departure by B. Yeltsin's government's from an initially correct course.

Defeat in the battle to preserve the budget in its original form, the FINANCIAL TIMES writes, could have an adverse effect on the possibility of Russia's receipt from the West of aid of $5-6 billion for the ruble stabilization program. The United States and Japan, the two main contributors to this fund, point to the "continuing financial indiscipline" in the country as the main reason for refusing to grant Russia the sum it requires prior to its membership of the IMF.

U.S. Treasury Under Secretary Mulford, who visited Moscow recently, also insists that "the Russian Government should tighten up its financial policy." In so saying he himself noted that the situation in the country "can hardly be worse."

The Russian parliament's recent decisions are often examined by the Western mass media in the context of the political struggle within the Russian leadership. The lowering of taxes and the attempt to stem the rise in prices by administrative restrictions are regarded either as an "attack," a "demarche," or even a "ruse" by speaker A. Khasbulatov. "All the efforts of Yegor Gaydar's cabinet to balance the country's budget in the first quarter will be undermined," the FINANCIAL TIMES notes.

Foreign correspondents working in Moscow cite surprising examples to show that our consumers are at the end of their tether. The formation of a single antigovernment front from Vice President A. Rutskoy to communist fundamentalist Nina Andreyeva is viewed by commentators as the latest political fait accompli.

Nevertheless, the West prefers soothing verbal ruminations to real deeds. "The Russian Government's steps to implement the economic reform are heading in the right direction, but very much remains to be done to improve the transformation program and implement it," D. Mulford said, addressing a U.S. Congress subcommittee. What lies ahead? "Representatives of Russia and the IMF are now jointly elaborating an all-embracing program of further economic reforms." Possibly in a few months' time, when Russia and the other CIS countries are members of the IMF, "this will create the kind of discipline in their relations with the IMF which will help them stabilize the economy."

But, gentlemen, do you not want Zhirinovskiy as a partner in the talks on further stabilization? Or Professor Sergeyev, perhaps?

To justify the delay they often use the thesis that the liberalization of prices has hopelessly outstripped the privatization of state property. Foreign critics use the lamentable statistics of private enterprises bitterly announced by Russian Government people to rebuke the government itself.

Meanwhile there are few who doubt that with the present insane ratio of the ruble to the dollar, which is now deeply unfair to the ruble, privatization could be either antimarket in its methods or antipeople in its essence.

During recent state visits the public in many rich countries applauded B. Yeltsin's words on various nuclear missile reductions. Despite the ovations there is much that is unclear here—ranging from the targets against which the missiles are to be redirected to a worldwide antimissile system of defense, though against whom it is unclear.

On the other hand, B. Yeltsin's government has quite definitely and categorically declared its readiness to listen to any authoritative expert study in the sphere of economic transformations.

The fact remains that Russia's clear readiness to embark on the supreme forms of cooperation is running into verbal obstacles. (Humanitarian aid is the gratifying exception).

All this is so obvious that it is hard to avoid the impression that the historic victory over communism has reduced the West's ability to think and robbed it of the ability to count. "The ambitious program of economic reforms in a Russia still deprived of Western aid looks increasingly dubious with each passing day," Britain's THE GUARDIAN believes. "The complexity of the economic situation in Russia is largely due to the country's lack of a stabilization fund, which needs to be

$15 billion-$17 billion. The lack of such a fund could mean that the process of inflation in Russia will become irreversible."

Financial stabilization in the CIS depends crucially on how fully and responsibly the West realizes its responsibility for the outcome of the great changes. The joy of victory may give way to bitter disappointment. History has known numerous examples of how victors proved unworthy of their victory.

Yeltsin Replies to Snegur on Moldovan Embassy

OW0702000192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1916 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has replied to Moldovan President Mircea Snegur's message about the picketing of the Moldovan mission in Moscow in January. Among other things, Mr. Snegur pointed out that the media in Moscow had been giving biased reports about the situation in Moldova. Mr Yeltsin says in his telegram that the necessary measures have been taken to ensure the normal functioning of the mission and stresses that Russia does not seek to interfere into Moldova's internal affairs.

Moscow's Role in Midle East Talks Reviewed

924C0549C Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 6, 5 Feb 92 p 9

[Article by Igor Belyayev: "Compromise Is Far Off—As Yet...: Third Round of Near East Peace Negotiations Held in Moscow 28-29 January"]

[Text] **Like the first two, the Moscow round took place under the leadership of the two cochairmen—the United States and Russia, which had taken over the baton from the former Soviet Union with the consent of all the participants without exception, of course.**

How did we come to find ourselves in the role of cochairman of the Near East peace conference? We are not, it would seem, a direct participant in the conflict in this "hot" region. We received the invitation to the said role formally from J. Baker, secretary of state of the United States. With, incidentally, the consent of Israel, which had preliminarily secured our readiness to restore the diplomatic relations between Moscow and Tel Aviv which had been broken off in June 1967.

Nonetheless, why is Russia acting the part of cochairman of a peace conference for a settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict? In my view, as a result of our political and other relations with the Arab countries (they have not always developed easily) we have played for them the part of a kind of counterweight to the forces opposed to them. The well-known principle of a "balance of interests" in the Near East advanced by Moscow in recent years, as a result of which the interests of both the Arabs and Israel were to have been secured, confirmed us in this important role. As the first two rounds of the negotiations (in Madrid and Washington) showed, we are trusted by both sides. I am convinced that it was consideration of our important role in the Near East (as also in the liberation of Kuwait as a result of the war in the Persian Gulf) which prompted J. Baker's decision to offer us the role of cochairman of the Near East peace conference.

The Israeli-Arab conflict is most complex. For this reason it is a question as yet of some attempts to establish a dialogue between the antagonistic parties. What happened in Moscow, where problems of postwar cooperation in the Near East (in the sphere of the economy, the exploitation of water resources, a solution of environmental problems) were discussed, shows that the process of involvement in the discussion of the main problems continues. On this occasion 24 countries took part in the discussion.

Delegations of Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, and France did not come to Moscow, it is true, nor did the Palestinians. Damascus believes that since agreement was not reached at the previous rounds on a solution of the territorial question in accordance with the principle of the exchange of the land captured by Israel in June 1967 for peace, there is no point negotiating about general problems.

The Palestinians came to Moscow, but considered that inasmuch as the makeup of their delegation did not include representatives of the Palestinian diaspora, it would be more farsighted of them were they to refrain from participating in the discussion of problems of regional cooperation....

In one of his speeches in Moscow, Israeli Foreign Minister D. Levi tossed up, as a trial balloon, for discussion the claim that the border between Israel and Jordan ran along the River Jordan. He received in response a reminder that the Madrid formula of the negotiations specifies as a basis compliance with the well-known UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. And, consequently, Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories....

But the fact of both parties' aspiration not only to listen to one another but also to begin a search for compromise solutions of specific problems of a settlement is perfectly obvious. Success? Yes, considerable success at that. After all, for more than 40 years everyone had been speaking about peace in the Near East in his own fashion. But a search for actual compromise lies ahead....

Third Round of Talks Previewed

OW0802030192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia is working to ensure success for the third round of direct Arab-Israeli talks to be held in Washington this month, a prominent member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent. As cosponsors of the peace process Russia and the U.S. are not directly involved in talks, but act as their patrons", he explained.

The diplomat said he is confident that the boycott of the Moscow conference on the Middle East by the Palestinians and Syria will not affect the talks in Washington. This involves "different parallels", he said. According to him, direct talks are proceeding "on three plains": Israel-Syria, Israel-Lebanon, Israel-joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. All participants in the process of talks are in favor of its continuation.

As for the "multilateral negotiations launched in Moscow, this is another, though parallel, process". According to the diplomat, the attitude of Syrians, Palestinians and Lebanese to it is "more complex": they insist on linking their participation in it to progress at bilateral talks, but do not want to give up either of them. The bilateral direction remains "preferable and pivotal", since no headway can be made in the efforts to resolve regional problems without progress at bilateral talks, the diplomat stressed.

Committee for Near East Settlement Formed

924C0583A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Feb 92 p 4

[Interview with Middle East specialist V.M. Vinogradov by Sergey Filatov; place and date not given: "Who Said That the Public Is Keeping Quiet..."]

[Text] An event of considerable importance occurred in Moscow recently. During the latest "roundtable," a series of which is being conducted by the Arab Cultural-Business Club for Problems of the Near East, E. Najil, president of the club, put forward the idea of creating a committee of public organizations to promote a Near East settlement. This initiative was supported by the Russian Society for Friendship With Arab Countries, the Russian Palestine Society, the International Association for the Cooperation of Lawyers, the Academy of the Spiritual Heritage of the East, the Association of Diplomatic Officials, the Committee for Friendship and Solidarity With the Palestinian People, the Russian Lawyers' Association, and the Public Academy of Culture and General Values.

In conjunction with the Arab Cultural-Business Club they formed such a committee, of which V.M. Vinogradov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and a leading Russian specialist in this field, who was cochairman and representative of the USSR at the 1973-1974 Geneva Near East Peace Conference, was elected chairman. It was to him that we addressed our questions.

[Filatov] What are the aims of the committee?

[Vinogradov] The main aims are to contribute to the success of the negotiations on a Near East settlement and notify our people extensively about the nature of the conflict, possible methods of its speediest solution and the interest in this of Russia, which is so close to the zone of the conflict, and also to strengthen friendly ties to all countries of the region.

The committee's first step was an appeal to the government of Russia, as the host of the latest round of Arab-Israeli negotiations. It pointed out that the Russian Federation, as a successor of the USSR and as the historical partner of peoples of the East, should be an active participant in the peace process. It bears responsibility for the fate of its compatriots and citizens living both in Ukraine and in the Arab countries. As a cochairman of the international Near East peace conference, Russia can and should do much for a solution of the conflict for the Near East direction has, after all, been important in our state's foreign policy in all times.

While continuing its activity inside the country, the committee intends to request that the United Nations accord us the status of nongovernment organization for participation in the efforts to bring about a settlement within the framework of the corresponding UN committees.

[Filatov] How, in your opinion, may the results of the Moscow round of Near East negotiations be evaluated?

[Vinogradov] Interested circles of our community have perceived them with mixed feelings. On the one hand Moscow, as the capital of a state which has always advocated the speediest, just and peaceful settlement and which has substantial authority in the world, not to mention countries of the Near East region, was, seemingly, a location with conditions conducive to the achievement of positive results. On the other, a fact remains a fact: Neither the Palestinians nor a single Arab state directly involved in the conflict participated in the negotiations in Moscow. The negotiations were conducted without parties to the conflict. Disrespect was shown also in respect to Iran, Libya and Iraq, which were not invited to the conference, although their interests are no less substantial than those of the EEC, say.

In addition, the negotiations did not broach the main question of the entire settlement—Israel's departure from the occupied territories and the establishment of peace. After all, everything which was discussed in Moscow—problems of the economy, ecology, refugees and disarmament even—may be realized only with Israel's return of Arab land. So the Moscow round did not advance the cause of a settlement one iota, and this

is disturbing. But in the interest of peace on earth we cannot allow the negotiations to be thwarted.

Embassy Denies Central Asia Supplying Afghans

LD1102230192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] On Tuesday [11 February], the Russian Embassy in Afghanistan denied allegations that the independent Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union supplied weapons to the Najibollah government. The Russian Embassy's statement was made in response to claims by the Afghan mujahidin and some Pakistani officials that the Central Asian republics violate the agreement on terminating weapons supplies to the warring parties as of 1 January. This agreement was reached between the United States and the former Soviet Union last September.

Federation Affairs

Further on Rutskoy Speech at Civic Congress

PM1202110592 Moscow PATRIOT in Russian No 6, Feb 92 (signed to press 11 Feb 92) p 2

["Extracts" of report delivered to Moscow Congress of Civil and Patriotic Forces of Russia by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy 8 February: "Truth Without Love Is Lies!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Congress of Civil and Patriotic Forces of Russia was held last weekend in Moscow and was addressed by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. We cite what we think are the most interesting extracts from his report.

Respected compatriots! We have assembled here not only to ask ourselves what is happening to our fatherland, Russia, but also to say what action should be taken for the good of all the peoples and ethnic groups inhabiting the once united Great Rus, the great Russian fatherland.

Regained, resurgent Russia will again illuminate the world. The task today is to prevent Russia's fire from going out, to ensure that the fire, fanned by a political wind, again burns with a pure flame. Not proud salvation of the world but service of our vocation, not messianism but a mission, the path of creative tranquillity and sober labor, the reevaluation and perestroyka of all life—that is Russia's path, that is our common path!

So the first duty for us is the duty of self-knowledge; it is hard work to study and comprehend our past and present. The second duty is to restore the true face of Russia. The third duty is to revive spiritual, moral faith. The fourth duty is to learn to distinguish betrayal from exploits for the glory of Russia. The fifth duty is to revive the glory of the Russian Army, not of the incomprehensible "CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Army." The sixth is to revive the glorious Russian Cossack community. And the seventh—and main—duty is to serve the fatherland, rather than serving changing leaders.

Today, before the eyes of our descendants, we must assume responsibility for the future of our state [derzhava], responsibility for its physical existence. This must be remembered by everyone who has a correct understanding of the word "patriotism," who does not see love for the fatherland as an abstract concept emasculated by repeated invocation at school but understands it as a living, effective feeling handed down to us through the centuries from our great forebears, who understands it as a Russian idea.

Russia has always been built by the spirit of freedom, but has always trembled and disintegrated as soon as this spirit has weakened, as soon as freedom has been distorted by arbitrariness and infringement, petty tyranny and violence.

So what exactly is happening to us? What is happening is that many of the people who until recently pinned their hopes for the future on the practically promising sphere and righteousness of the Marxist-Leninist idea, destroying our entire past with the same unconditional passion with which they believed in the omnipotence of Marxism-Leninism, are trying to implement their plans in the country's political and economic life.

Raised in the spirit of seemingly immutable canons, they have proven incapable of giving the people a new, unifying idea that could help people to understand and survive the inevitable economic and moral crisis, an idea awakening the masses' creative energy and saving our peoples from apathy, unbelief, and total, all-absorbing mass egoism. So we are faced with a new, "democratic" experiment which even in its first phase has resulted in the universal impoverishment of the Russian people and headlong growth in prices. According to independent experts, the decline in production in Russia in the first quarter of this year may be 25 percent, inflation will top the 500-percent mark, and prices of staple foodstuffs and clothing will increase more than tenfold. The economy is really threatened with hyperinflation and the final transition to a state of collapse.

And everyone is wondering why this is happening. It is easy to explain: For the last few years hyperinflation has been accompanied by hyperplundering of the great power of Russia.

The gap between price liberalization—which at present has taken the form of an extortionate, purely administrative hike in prices—and the privatization process, which has still scarcely gotten off the ground, is increasing more and more in these conditions. There is no need to predict the consequences of this—they are increasingly evident with every passing day.

But the government is nevertheless declaring, through the lips of Gaydar, that former critic of the market economy: Any sacrifices we make in order to reduce the

budget deficit will be justified. That is, they are prepared to condemn pensioners to death in waiting lines for milk, to condemn schoolchildren to faint with hunger, and to suppress all those who reject these approaches to reform. But does this not remind you of the principle of "revolution at any price," which leads inevitably to dictatorship? For, in the words of the historian Dmitriy Konchalovskiy, "in a state that has lost the concepts of sin and shame, order can be maintained only by a police regime and violence." I do not know whether the former specialists in the sphere of the socialist economy and scientific communism used to feel these sensations of sin and shame, but I can say with confidence that today these feelings are foreign to them.

Yes, we have inherited an extremely grave legacy. It is impossible to emerge painlessly from economic and moral crisis. And that is the harsh truth. But harsh truth without love is lies! That too must be remembered. Our forebears believed in this, and we were taught this by Russian philosophical thought. A great deal of what is being done today in the political and economic field is being done without love for the people and for the homeland. There is just one result: implementation of a policy of economic genocide against the Russian population.

All hasty attempts to solve the problems on the fly will continue to be doomed to fail because to pole-vault into the market without taking into account the special features of our country's economic and historical development solely by means of price liberalization is to vault into an abyss whose depth can be found in no textbook. We will have to see this for ourselves in the near future unless the situation is rectified.

It should be remembered that we are very close to the point beyond which it will be impossible to resolve the crisis in the economy by economic methods. Today there is still a way out—the introduction of an economic state of emergency.

"People in trade, the land of Russia must be saved." Those words were spoken by Pavel Ryabushinskiy, one of Russia's most prominent financiers and industrialists in August 1917. By then it was too late. As we can see, today's situation is an exact repetition. So, we need to revive as speedily as possible Russian entrepreneurship and its many glorious traditions, above all the main tradition—of acting for the good of Russia, especially now, at this difficult moment. We must not make money, but earn it. Do business, and the money will automatically come along.

So it is necessary immediately to lower taxes primarily for those who produce rather than those who resell. We must allow all citizens of Russia to feel themselves to be masters rather than cattle in this land. The Russian Government and Supreme Soviet must at long last realize that machinations and speculation exist because hundreds of obstacles still exist for private entrepreneurship in the sphere of production in the form of legislation, bureaucratic power structures, the arbitrariness of functionaries, and bribery. What can economic reforms be like without financial reform? The market will not work until proper Russian money appears.

Something that deserves special attention is corruption, which has developed on an unprecedented scale and whose tentacles are increasingly actively penetrating the upper echelons of Russian power. Clearly, in the very near future, after appropriate verification, I will be forced to inform the people of Russia about this and to provide appropriate facts. Take merely the government decision on the sale of humanitarian aid via the trade network. You can only speculate how shadow economy operators have taken advantage of this.

Total license and cynicism regarding their own country and their own people—those are the results of the political anarchy today.

The key problem of our political life is Russian statehood, the destruction of which has been proceeding increasingly swiftly since the disintegration of the USSR. But Russia is not a chance accumulation of territories and tribes or an artificially composed collection of oblasts. Russia is a living historical, culturally established organism that cannot be arbitrarily dismembered.

Today, we must all create rather than borrow. We must turn to God, rather than imitate our neighbors. We are faced with the task of creating a distinctive Russian spiritual culture from the Russian heart, Russian contemplation, and Russian freedom. God help us in our achievements!

Rutskoy Remarks Criticized

PM1102171092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Otto Latsis article: "Something Is Wrong in Our State"]

[Text] You do not know whether to laugh or cry—that thought kept occurring to me when I heard the leading speakers at the Congress of Civic and Patriotic Forces. Deputy Pavlov (a Baburinite [follower of longtime Yeltsin opponent Sergey Baburin]) called for those present to be upstanding in memory of Saint Sergius, the brilliant knight Aleksandr Nevskiy, Suvorov, Kutuzov, Generals Skobelev and Samsonov, and Heroes of the Great Patriotic War Marshal Zhukov, Captain Varennikov, and Battalion Commander Yazov. The speaker clearly overestimated the auditorium's readiness to honor the State Committee for the State of Emergency "heroes." He even failed to realize how blasphemous the list sounded, with Varennikov side by side with Father Sergius. And he failed to note the ambiguity of his proposal to "be upstanding in memory" of living people—and people in a very complex situation, awaiting trial on a serious charge...

Pavlov was again well wide of the mark when he set about exposing Gaydar with regard to his well-known report of the terms for a credit agreement with the West, including periodical assessments of the progress of our reforms by IMF experts. "Reform today is not being carried out by the Russian Government. Reform in Russia is being carried out by the IMF. That is the main thing we should realize!" Pavlov exclaimed to applause from his excited audience. Unfortunately, that is not the way things are. Of course, it would be far easier if our reforms could indeed be carried out by the IMF—it at least is not dependent on deputies like Pavlov who have not taken the trouble to gain the knowledge required to run the state. Unfortunately, we will have to continue implementing our reforms ourselves. And to do this we will need at least to know the factual side of affairs.

Our debts to the West are not linked with the reforms, and it was not the present government which built them up. Larger loans than necessary were taken out by the Ryzhkov and Pavlov governments. But Gaydar, who did not have the slightest power at the time and was speaking only as an expert, wrote the following about our foreign debt: "Its size is already drawing near to recognized safety limits. Going beyond those limits would mean risking far more serious difficulties in the next five-year period. The experience of countries which have gone down that road, together with a sober assessment of our ability to pay, prompt us to resolutely oppose such proposals." (IZVESTIYA No. 333, 1988).

This warning was not heeded. The desire to maintain spending on unnecessary arms, senseless giant projects to disfigure our land, and subsidies to unproductive kolkhozes prevailed. As a result, this year we will have to make such payments that we may only be able to cover them by exporting our goods, without being able to buy anything from abroad ourselves. Today our sovereignty has in no way been violated: We are wholly entitled to pay our debts on time. In that case the IMF would have no questions for us. The government, however, has asked for debt payments to be deferred and to this end has turned to the IMF for help. Naturally, when a creditor helps out an insolvent debtor, he wants to know above all if there is any chance of ever getting his money back. Bankers have always acted thus, including our Gosbank [State Bank], which transferred defaulting enterprises to a special credit regime. The government's decision can be disputed and it might be suggested that we refuse to defer our payments—which would, of course, be evidence of our sovereignty. But then we could not make a fuss about the need to urgently protect the hungry in our country—those two pleasures are incompatible. It never occurred to Pavlov that by turning to the IMF the government is indeed really protecting the hungry. That is the level of qualifications held by a deputy who, along with others, is deciding our fate.

Pavlov's economic revelations were matched by the report by Constitutional Democrats' leader Mikhail Astafyev: His excursions into Russian history showed that either he does not know his history or that he was counting on his audience's ignorance. But it was no laughing matter when he started arguing about who were real patriots and who were not, and which of them were of which political stripe—it was this part of the speech that produced the liveliest reaction in the auditorium. Those present in the "Rossiya" movie theater could not even agree among themselves about who was more deserving of the title of patriot—so what could people of different views expect of them? If things sometimes degenerated into a farce, it was a pretty gloomy one. Nonetheless, it would hardly have been a political event worthy of serious attention had it not been for the participation in it of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. His speech at the congress and the long article published in PRAVDA the same day—which in places coincided with the speech—make it impossible to overlook what happened.

Only do not look for any logic in this twin piece of publicity. The speaker read an ode to Russian merchants and then immediately called for preference to be given to "those who produce rather than trade." He wrote that private property is not necessary for the transition to the market, and immediately stated that without private property no reform will be possible. He wrote that the situation of excess demand benefits producers and trading intermediaries because it opens up opportunities for speculation—and immediately called for prices to be artificially lowered. Of course it is illogical—the writer did not bother to check the simple factual accuracy of his claims. He talked about economic crimes in 1991 or even the first six months of 1991—and pinned responsibility for them on "Vice Premier Shokhin's apparatus." But Shokhin joined the government only in November 1991, the government's reform program was announced in December, and it started being implemented in January 1992. So how can he be responsible for the mistakes of 1991?

In essence Vice President Rutskoy directly accused Vice Premier Gaydar of being unprincipled, stating to the congress that Gaydar had in the past criticized the market economy "if anyone recalls his articles in PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA before being elevated to the leadership of such an important bloc, so to speak." The idea is clear: Who will remember old newspaper articles by someone who was little-known at the time? I can remember them because of a combination of circumstances. The fact is that "before being elevated to the leadership" Ye. Gaydar only wrote one article in IZVESTIYA, and it was written in association with me—the very article cited above. It is evidence of consistency: Some three years ago Gaydar was calling for the elimination of the budget deficit—just as he is now. There is not a word against the market in the article—nor is there in his PRAVDA articles. On this issue the vice president is... well, let us say mistaken.

On the whole, A. Rutskoy's long economic thoughts mainly prove one thing: He has decided to comment on matters of which he knows little. Nor is he scared of making the very radical proposal—as much economic as

political—that an economic state of emergency be declared. Do not ask what this means—there is not the slightest explanation in the speech, we are left to guess. But in general the choice is small, only two options are known. One is the planned distribution economy well known from the experience of several countries and based on a greater or lesser restriction of market regulators—these being replaced by direct administrative distribution of material resources in kind. This system was devised for wartime economies and has only produced good results in wartime conditions. There have been attempts to apply it to peacetime conditions—and all without exception have been unsuccessful. The Soviet experiment was the longest—1929 to 1991. This is, of course, a strange kind of cure to suggest—going back to what caused the illness. Unless the vice president is thinking of the second option—using emergency political measures to stop any opposition to the expedited transition to the market. The Pinochet version. But the entire context of Rutskoy's speech and article runs counter to this interpretation of his idea of an emergency situation. It is quite possible and even quite likely that there is no economic idea behind his words. It is a political sign given to those forces for whom the very word "emergency" has of late been something akin to Mowgli's refrain: "We be of one blood, ye and I." And this is the most worrying thing of all.

Rutskoy very willingly talks about law and order, about firm power and discipline. But what kind of discipline can a general demand of his officers and men when he himself is flagrantly in breach of discipline? In any country the vice presidency presupposes that the politician who agrees to run for the post accepts the strict limitations that go with it. He is the only man in the entire political system who is elected not personally but, as it were, in conjunction with the leader on a single ballot paper. It is unheard-of for a vice president to permit even a glimmer of a difference from the president's policy in his statements. In any country but ours he would immediately be asked to resign. It has to be said that the first vice president in Russia's history is not beginning the best kind of political tradition. Quite honestly, he was not entitled to make even one-hundredth of the criticism which he has leveled against his president's government. This claim in no way infringes Aleksandr Rutskoy's civil rights. As a Russian citizen he is free to criticize whomsoever he likes. But as an ordinary Russian citizen and only after he switches to being an ordinary citizen.

Incidentally, hearing Rutskoy's speech in the "Rossiya" auditorium, you could not fail to wonder whether he himself was interested in the content of his speech. That is another way of accounting for his repeated misreading of certain words—such as "independent experiments" instead of the "experts" required by the sense. Well, that kind of thing can happen to anyone. But the Russian vice president took it upon himself, at a gathering of patriots who were constantly talking about Russia and the Russian ideal, to recite "Terkin"—a great poem by a great Russian poet—and made three mistakes in the space of two lines of this by no means complicated work, which irrefutably showed that he did not understand the sense of what he was reading. The farcical atmosphere became unbearable—like a tune made up of nothing but wrong notes. And you could not help thinking that it was not to preach certain ideas that he had come to the auditorium, disregarding even the objections of the party which was quite recently dubbed the "Rutskoy party." He came to show that he was not a stranger to those meeting there.

Maybe the general simply decided to show that he is not a subordinate figure but an independent political force and that he—combat pilot Aleksandr Rutskoy—is not afraid of anyone or anything. Only in politics it is not so important what he thinks of himself. From the political standpoint it is only important that he is no longer a combat pilot but the vice president. And also important is the social context of which the vice president's actions form part and on which they impact. The context is this: The outcome of market reform is by no means clear as yet. The social difficulties and concomitant social tension in society at any rate will increase; in the Army social difficulties are being compounded by the painful process of the division of the Army and its withdrawal from neighboring states; the formation of new law-enforcement organs and a security system is not complete yet; communist fundamentalists openly hostile to the reforms are increasingly organizing themselves and rallying together; forces in the Russian Parliament sabotaging the reforms are making their presence felt increasingly clearly; and there are many difficulties in relations with the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states. Finally, the opponents of the existing authorities must be encouraged to act by the fact that Russia still has no constitution. And when you look at the confusion of the congress and the raucous rally on Manezh Square, you cannot help thinking that the August putsch did not come out of the blue. There were rehearsals in various places first.

Rutskoy Cited on Need for Indivisible Army

PM1102140792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Army Should Be Indivisible.."]

[Text] While in Lipetsk A.V. Rutskoy said in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent:

"The army demands a civilized attitude toward itself.

"It is intolerable when a man in military uniform is seen not as the defender of the Motherland but as a parasite and scrounger. You can see what is happening now: an attempt to divide the army and force people to take an oath for a second time... Yet the armed forces have two functions: defensive and offensive. When we speak of the indivisible army of the Commonwealth of Independent States, we can understand its functions. If we follow the logic of some political leaders seeking to divide the army along national lines, then as an officer I ask: Against

whom are they defending themselves, whom are they attacking? No good will come of all this. The army should be a common and indivisible army."

Burbulis Comments on '100 Days in Office'

LD1202103392 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS— The present Russian government "did not intend and is not going now to resign. It will work as long as it is useful to its president and residents of Russia," said Secretary of State of the Russian Federation and First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis.

He gave an exclusive interview to ITAR-TASS on the occasion of 100 days in office of the present government, which began to be formed on November 6. "From the very beginning we wanted the new cabinet to be a team of like-minded people," Burbulis said.

"We do not always agree with each other, but we are united by a feeling of responsibility, by the tremendous scope of tasks facing us," he continued. Burbulis stressed that now the cabinet is more united than on the first stage of its work. "At that time we had common moral and political guidelines, the enthusiasm of joint work lying ahead, while now we are united by the practical implementation of the reform," he explained.

Speaking about the problems facing the Russian Government, Burbulis made special mention of organising and management problems, linked with the coordination of actions between various ministries, institutions and regions and with keeping in touch with individual enterprises. According to Burbulis, the outcome of the economic reform in Russia will depend a great deal on how successfully this problem is tackled.

Aside from it, "much remains to be done to specify the overall reform plan," he pointed out. In his opinion, it is necessary to reduce to the minimum the influence of monopolies in the production sphere, to create as soon as possible the state tax inspection with all necessary branches and to streamline the activities of commercial banks.

Touching upon the relationship between the government and the parliament, Burbulis said "tremendous progress has been achieved in their relations of late." He pointed out that he hoped for constructive cooperation and for the "transformation of differences between the parliament and the cabinet into disagreement on the essence of issues under discussion not developing into disagreement concerning long-term targets."

Burbulis Views Political, Military Issues

924C0582A Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Feb 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with G.E. Burbulis, secretary of state and first deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation, by correspondents Nikolay Kishkin and Aleksandr Potapov; place and date not given: "G. Burbulis: Russia Will Revive, but Only on the Path of Reforms"]

[Text] **Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis, formerly a Urals scientist and candidate of philosophical sciences, came to big politics less than three years ago, having been elected a USSR people's deputy in Sverdlovsk. He was an organizer of the Interregional Group of Deputies and of the election campaign of B. Yeltsin, future chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and subsequently became his authorized representative. He also directed the campaign for the election of the first president of the republic. In July 1991 he was appointed RSFSR secretary of state, and in November, also first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government.**

[TRUD] Gennadiy Eduardovich, for a start, could you not briefly evaluate the path trodden since the time of the victory of democracy?

[Burbulis] An interesting question. Only let us make clear what you are taking as the reference point.

[TRUD] August, perhaps, as the arbitrary boundary which afforded extensive opportunities for accelerated progress along the path of reforms?

[Burbulis] Perhaps not. It is more correct to speak of the victory of democracy as a historical process of extraordinary importance occurring in time and space which is connected with objective conditions largely independent of both politicians and specific social groups. And they were defined by the exhaustion of the social and political system which was called the Soviet Union. This system fell apart objectively. But the disintegration itself had two related force fields. One was the intrinsic content of the system and its complete paralysis and metastasis which spread to the entire organism of society and the state and determined the limit of their possibilities. The second was what stimulated the disintegration and was conceived in the very depths of the system itself. It was people's need to live better and the shaping of political, social and economic processes connected with this. And they had their landmarks.

The first were the elections in 1989 of people's deputies of the USSR, inasmuch as it was from the deputy environment that the initial legal opposition to the system in the shape of the Interregional Group of Deputies was formed. Today, for reasons of the extraordinary dynamism of the processes, we do not have an opportunity to completely assess the whole significance of this phenomenon.

The second extraordinarily important landmark, in my view, was the republic elections (I am speaking about the Russian elections here). They revealed the futility of reform efforts within the framework of the Union structures and disclosed a new vector of the transformations—the republics as the economic, sociopolitical, and moral base for the most painful process of transition to a new social condition.

The first congress of Russian deputies, the election, in a most arduous struggle, of Boris Yeltsin as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the surprisingly unanimous adoption of the Declaration on Russian Sovereignty may be considered events which predetermined all subsequent development. After all, exactly a year later we elected the first president of Russia, who had by that time appreciable stock in the form of quite a precise legal program of democratic reforms in Russia.

[TRUD] How would you, in that case, define the place of the August events?

[Burbulis] I would in this context view the events of 19-21 August somewhat differently than is customary. For me everything that occurred at that time was merely the death throes of a doomed system. The source of the transformations was actually shaped in the pre-August period. We can only wonder at the fact that it ended not on the 22d and not in August. It ended on 8 December, when the agonizing recognition of the need for real innovation was finally reduced to the main point: the impossibility of living in a new way while preserving the structure of the Union center, by whatever noble ideas this was buttressed and by whichever intrinsically honest people this was executed.

So the need for economic reforms as the principal content of the transformations and the need to have the opportunity from the viewpoint of intra-Russian constitutional rights to embark on these reforms compelled the need for us to listen closely to the pulse of life. This need was materialized in Minsk.

[TRUD] What would you now put down to the credit of the process of democratic transformations?

[Burbulis] Primarily the fact that each specific individual has actually perceived the prospect of personal, civil, and economic liberty as being in keeping with his purpose and his nature. Whatever difficulties are accompanying our reforms currently, we already have, in this sense, a result of surprising proportions: man's fundamentally new view of himself, of the meaning of his life and of the laws and rules of the collective and society.

Second, we have been able all together to recognize the disastrous and flawed nature of the economic mechanism which was triumphant for decades in the Soviet Union. We have emphatically declined to finance other states and systems unchecked and thereby squander the public's vital resources. We have abandoned financial support for the false principles of our might and seen for ourselves the corrupt nature of the management and economic structure in the shape of a supermilitarized economy.

Third, we have in principle altered our approach to the state as the main organizer of people's life—producing, sharing, ordering—that is, to an essentially repressive state, inasmuch as decisions on behalf of the majority were adopted more often than not by the ruling elite and were contrary to the interests of the majority. We are speaking of the demonopolization of the entire system of social relations via a change in the essence of the state.

Finally, we have initiated the formation of a civil society, that is, the public-social and moral environment which creates political and ideological poles in the form of parties, movements, and other organized structures. They are fragile as yet, they are still vibrating and are subject to emotions, but they have already taken shape as a requirement. And in the collectively impersonal masses in which we used to live there are today even islets of the spiritually free individual. This cannot now be jettisoned.

[TRUD] And could you distinguish some most acute problem which disturbs you, as a statesman?

[Burbulis] The most acute and complex problem, in my view, is finding the optimum combination between the ultimate goal of radical reforms and the ability of the actual individual to solve today's problems. It needs to be remembered that the most difficult thing for us now is persuading Russians that the reforms which are proposed and implemented are vitally necessary and practically feasible. We need to approach the ultimate goal of the reforms in such a way that human requirements are daily satisfied most rationally under the conditions in which we currently live.

[TRUD] Gennadiy Eduardovich, I would like to ask a number of questions connected with the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Even in the name itself "commonwealth" comes first. But one has the feeling currently that some republics and some leaders are more concerned with the problem of independence than cooperation. We are faced, as you once put it, with an inflamed feeling of independence. Will not this inflammation become chronic?

[Burbulis] I find it very difficult to answer this question. Both as a man and as a politician I am, naturally, interested in the triumph of the reasoned dialectic of these two values. Ideally, the CIS means independent states experiencing an inner need for one another and realizing it within the framework of the Commonwealth in accordance with rules which they themselves have formulated. This is our normal, sincere wish. But I do not believe that this process will be as harmonious as we would like. Several types of states will be distinguished within the Commonwealth, most likely. The first type are those which both objectively and personally (from the viewpoint of their leaders) will be interested in the preservation of vitally important structures within a

Commonwealth framework. Kazakhstan, for example, has insisted, and we have supported it with satisfaction, on the preservation in full of all economic relations between territories and enterprises. Belarus and Kyrgyzstan are moving in the same direction.

The second type of states within the framework of the Commonwealth are those which are interested more precisely in an association of a political and military nature. That is, while not finding it possible today to support the entire system of economic space, they at the same time understand their interest within the framework of the military and defense space which has already evolved.

And, finally, the third type—states which make independence the top priority. The reasons may be various—of a personal nature, geographical, national.

[TRUD] You refer to the Ukraine, Azerbaijan...

[Burbulis] Yes, and Uzbekistan and Moldova also. And it should be said that for me this is entirely normal and natural. As the republics joined the Union and lived therein dissimilarly, so today are we leaving it dissimilarly and dissimilarly recovering from the regime of oppression. We need only to invest this process with a cultured constitutional-legal regime.

[TRUD] Gennadiy Eduardovich, in one of our exegeses following the meeting in Belovezhskaya Pushcha we wrote that the documents adopted there are more reminiscent of an agreement of intentions, for a mechanism of realization of the accords still had to be formulated. What is being done to create such a mechanism? After all, it is already clear that periodical meetings of the heads of state and government alone are insufficient and that some working bodies are needed.

[Burbulis] There are two directions here. First: The formalization and search for effective coordinating and regulatory structures within the framework of specific sectors of the economy are under way here. For example, in order to function efficiently and individually in each state, today transport systems must find a concerted form of interaction. In order to remain fully up to par, communications must acquire some common structures.

The second direction: The formation of an operating coordinating group within the framework of the highest bodies of the Commonwealth (the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government) is being completed. It will be based in Minsk. It will incorporate at least two representatives from members of the Commonwealth. They are within the framework of this coordinating body to orient one another competently on fundamental state and economic issues, prepare material and documents for conferences and sessions of the council and ensure continuous communications. They will have a small auxiliary staff and maintenance support. Going shares, we will allocate money for this body as soon as possible. The parliaments of the republics, in which an acute need to coordinate legislative activity has emerged, feel drawn toward each other now also. I do not rule out the appearance in the very near future of some interparliamentary working body which would assume the "priming" of the laws enacted by each state individually, from the viewpoint of their concepts.

[TRUD] And is there some understanding concerning a common information space? Even now we are beginning to feel that any words addressed to politicians or structures of states of the CIS are greeted there very painfully and interpreted as interference in their internal affairs. It is now easier to comment on the actions of Bush and Mitterrand than Kravchuk or Karimov. Will we not arrive at a situation where some states will altogether ban the dissemination of the printed product of another state? How do you view this situation?

[Burbulis] Philosophically. It seems to me that both we politicians and the people working in the media need to take account of the particular features of the present day and try to act according to the "non injuria" principle. If it transpires that your words of principle could be perceived painfully, they are better left unsaid. It seems to me that the majority of the mass media today are suffering from that same ailment which is being detected in the politicians determining the states' actions. This illness is called the seductive sense of freedom, when the capacity for using it for people's benefit is as yet lacking. It is when we can say and write anything we like without thought as to the consequences.

And as far as a common information space is concerned, it seems to me that everything will adjust itself: publications that are subscribed to and read will remain in all states, and those that cannot gain a foothold will disappear.

[TRUD] One further painful problem—territorial issues. It is perfectly natural that at the time of conclusion of the agreement all parties declared the absence of territorial claims (recarving borders would now be the last straw). But is there not a danger that we are leaving future generations some acute problems? Will not the Crimea, say, one day become a Russian-Ukrainian Karabakh?

[Burbulis] A most complex question. I hope that sooner or later a fundamental document legally determining the standards and principles of relations between the states will be adopted in the Commonwealth. It would take account of the history of our relations, the unusual specific features of the formation of the Commonwealth itself and the history of each state, that is, would take account of this unpredictable nature of possible consequences which you have emphasized. Of the fact that we all need such a document today there is no doubt. That its preparation and adoption will contain many difficulties is obvious also. But I do not now see any possibility, first, of insisting on it and forcing its elaboration and, second, of glossing over this need or long postponing it. It is that instance where the balanced, gradual formalization of the legal status of the Commonwealth with the

removal of certain historical ambiguities within whose framework we lived in the Union is appearing on the agenda.

But everything now has been screened by the need for economic reforms. If, God willing, we find sufficient intelligence, forbearance and solidarity as to create normal economic relations, this will change absolutely the method of the solution of political and legal, including territorial, questions.

If we begin now to make absolutes of questions of the law and borders and focus general attention on them, we will be making a serious mistake. Although I am forced to observe that there is to the Russian reforms quite a steady climate of resistance which disagrees with them in principle. I call it a revanchist climate. And it will try to take advantage of these sore points as a method and means of preventing what is most important—the reforming of the economy.

[TRUD] And is there potential for an acceleration of this which is most important?

[Burbulis] The most important area of the reforms today is ensuring the direct interface of the decisions which are being formulated by the government and the Supreme Soviet and the practical environment in which these decisions are realized. The main potential and main problem for us now is the link with the regions and territories and with the industrial managers.

[TRUD] One further question, which is on people's lips—the military issue. Russia has declared that it does not now intend to create its own armed forces and is advocating joint armed forces. As you know, the Ukraine and Azerbaijan are stepping up this process, and some political forces there are accusing Russia, what is more, of imperial aspirations, virtually. How might you comment on this situation?

[Burbulis] Accusations against us of imperial ambitions will continue for a long time yet because this is the custom. This historical curse—of being considered an empire—hangs over us continually. At the same time we bear responsibility for the process of stabilization in the military and political sphere within the framework of the Commonwealth. It is for this reason that Boris Nikolayevich has emphasized repeatedly that we are for joint forces, both strategic and general. This is important also at the economic level, inasmuch as Russia today finances the military continent, for the most part, irrespective of its territorial location. This is important also in the sociopolitical plane inasmuch as Russians, including those living in other states of the Commonwealth, constitute the absolute majority of the armed forces. And this is important from the foreign policy viewpoint.

[TRUD] In order to have done with CIS problems, one particular question. You will recall that President Gorbachev, who had a negative view of this idea, declared at the first meeting with the press that as soon as he learned that Burbulis and Shakhray had gone to Belovezhskaya Pushcha, it was clear to him how this would end. And he recalled some memorandum of yours. Could you not comment on this statement?

[Burbulis] Mikhail Sergeyevich had expressed this "discovery" of his in a smaller group also. So at the meeting with the press he was being quite consistent. We are talking about the situation when Boris Nikolayevich was in Sochi, where, in a change of atmosphere, he continued to work on the strategy of our further path, and I went out to see him to decide on current business. On the instructions of the president a short memorandum on behalf of the State Council had, indeed, been prepared. We had been a long time coming to this. It contained an analysis of the situation and several versions of the possible development of events, what is handsomely called a "scenario." It transpired that Mikhail Sergeyevich was in possession of this memorandum also and that he had studied it closely. I do not say that it was something entirely inaccessible or that we endeavored to make a big secret out of it. No. But, truly, as befits professional politicians, it was important to anticipate all alternatives, to not close one's eyes to any of them.

[TRUD] Gennadiy Eduardovich, let us transfer the discussion to another plane. The public has been disturbed of late by all kinds of statements to the effect that in the top Russian leadership there is some kind of disarray, that a struggle of groupings is under way and that a communist underground is operating in the country. What is truth, what are inventions here?

[Burbulis] The truth is that all this is perfectly natural. The truth is that we are observing an attempt at restoration on the part of the communist structures, and the more arduous the progress of the reforms, they more active the former will become. As is the fact that transformations of such a scale are being understood and perceived dissimilarly within the framework of the highest state structures. As is the fact that Boris Nikolayevich did not, unfortunately, have an opportunity to mold his team over decades and, consequently, to exclude within the framework thereof disagreements of a fundamental strategic nature. As is also the fact that we entered politics each with his own baggage and that professional political activity is not within everyone's capabilities to an equal extent. It is also true that there is an insistent desire to use the power structures for counterreform actions and, in places, for sabotage also.

It would be wholly naive to expect some sterile environment in our present situation. We are working under the conditions which life affords us. I can say one thing: to those who do not understand, we will explain. Those who with conviction reject the reforms should make a choice and adopt the normal, civilized, legal form of opposition. But this para-democratic naivete, which says that it is possible to be against the policy of the president and simultaneously to maintain one's presence in the structures of executive power, needs, of course, to be overcome.

[TRUD] Russia's trade unions are criticizing the government for rejecting regular social partnership. This, in particular, was said by I. Klochkov, chairman of the FNPR [Federation of Independent Trade Unions], at the Supreme Soviet session. Do you agree with this criticism?

[Burbulis] I believe that there is mutual dissatisfaction and reciprocal movement toward one another. The tripartite conciliation commission (government-unions-employees) has started work, and I have been instructed by the president to coordinate its activity. We now have the maximum interest in ensuring that the commission participate directly in the formulation of the government's decisions and their subsequent realization.

At the same time I would not want a monopoly in the trade union movement itself to be created, and I would request that all partial judgments on the part of the FNPR be amended from the viewpoint of its real right to represent the interests of all working people, in the forms to which the Federation resorts even more. Today the fundamental interest of Russian working people is securing for the reforms an irreversible nature and productive embodiment. And all the traditions of the Soviet style of thinking—socially protecting people thanks to profligate and cost-no-object economics, thereby not removing the problems but engendering them—it is this that we would not want to permit.

[TRUD] Thank you. And now, if possible, a few questions of a personal nature. What would you prefer: to be in office in a tranquil, well-appointed country or as now—on a colossal fault line?

[Burbulis] What President Yeltsin and his associates are having to deal with today is the highest form of both responsibility and satisfaction. Being to some extent involved in the fact that a full-fledged free Russian state is being formed is for any person, a politician even more, great good fortune.

[TRUD] Can you distinguish some period or some common concern which brought you close to Yeltsin?

[Burbulis] We became acquainted on 5 May 1989, when two Sverdlovsk deputies—Volkov and I—came to the capital to establish contacts with the Moscow group of deputies out of which the Interregional Group subsequently grew. We have in these years experienced and done so much together that distinguishing some one sphere is very difficult. It is simply that work molded convinced associates, between whom there are not only official and not so much official relations. For me this joint work and joint political creativity have been both a great ordeal and the highest joy.

[TRUD] And in conclusion: Are you sure that we will achieve a positive change in the living standard in the foreseeable future even without serious social upheavals? And that all the intimidation concerning a new dictatorship is groundless?

[Burbulis] I can assure you that the president of Russia will necessarily bring the reforms to a pronounced positive result, and we, his associates, will contribute to this in every possible way. And I am sure that no hysterics in connection with the transformations can knock the majority of Russians from the chosen path. I have no doubt that we will both survive and revive and that Russia will become a worthy member of the world community.

Further on Burbulis Meeting With Idustrialists

LD1102234192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis is talking to industrialists and is concerned with creating the President's Party. He believes that methods of non-party administration have all but exhausted themselves. One could recall here that the main result of the congress of civic and patriotic forces of Russia which ended in Moscow yesterday was the creation of a right-centrist movement. It will act as an opposition to the current government of the republic and will rely on entrepreneurs. The government, on the other hand, seems to need contacts with leaders of state enterprises.

[Correspondent N.Chernyshova] Five minutes were given to television to film a meeting between leaders of the government and the Supreme Soviet and directors of Russia's enterprises. Therefore, the picture fails to reflect the sharpness of the conversation. And sharpness there was! Directors had a unique opportunity to speak collectively, which is always easier, about the bruises received during reforms. For the country's leaders this was an opportunity to receive feedback to their actions in a narrow circle of producers—it is precisely in such a way that one can talk without shouting—on the eve of a sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers which will sum up the first stage of reform.

If reforms fail to impart energy to producers, Russian Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis said, we will get nowhere. Having given cautious support to the transformations, directors of enterprises stated that reforms have not been prepared thoroughly enough. Both giant factories and small farms have been put in similar conditions, taxes are wearing them down, there are no means for investment, while the equipment has passed its limit of obsolecence long ago.

An opinion was voiced about the need to introduce parallel money, a threat of hyper-inflation, and the intricate and incomprehensible nature of the law on privatization. Trade unions, strikers, and journalists were criticized by the industrial leaders. This was a harsh conversation. Well, never mind, provided it was useful.

Decree on Land Sale Prepared

LD1002173392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1614 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has given an instruction to prepare by 13 February a draft decree on the implementation of the sale of land to the enterprises that are being privatized. This was stated today by Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary of the Russian Federation and first vice prime minister of the cabinet, at a meeting between leaders of the Russian Government, the republican Supreme Soviet, and a group of directors of industrial enterprises.

Yeltsin Decree Forms Cinematography Committee

PM1102141192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Untitled report from PRAVDA, ITAR, TASS, URAL-AKTSEPT roundup]

[Text] A cinematography committee has been formed under the Russian Federation Government by decree of Boris Yeltsin. The well-known movie personality and critic Armen Medvedev has been appointed chairman of the cinematography committee.

Pension Fund Decree Awaits Yeltsin Signature

OW0802035592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian government has approved of and presented to President Yeltsin for signature a draft decree on government and private pension funds. The Social Security Minister, Ella Pamfilova, says under the decree businesses in all branches of the economy will be able to set up and manage their own pension funds.

The Russian Social Security Minister claims that the republic has no financial or technical opportunities to index people's incomes, as the parliament's resolutions provide for. However, in the first quarter of this year pensioners will be entitled to additional lump payments. The Social Security Ministry is now working on a special mechanism to protect the most vulnerable groups of the population. Besides, there are plans for opening a chain of special shops selling essentials and foodstuffs at big discounts to the needy as well as free soup kitchens and shelters for the low-paid.

Yeltsin Sets Up State Awards Commission

PM0702163792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Commission Exists—Awards Will Follow"]

[Text] A Russian Federation presidential ordinance has ratified the Provision on the State Awards Commission and its staff. To be set up on social grounds, the commission will be a permanent organ under the president and will form part of his administration's structure.

Poll Shows Decline in Anti-Yeltsin Feeling

LD0902225792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Feb 92

[From the "Itogi" newscast—read by announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev]

[Text] The activity of the anti-Yeltsin opposition, combined with rising prices, has made many people feel that social disaster is on the way. Weekly public opinion polls commissioned by the "Itogi" program have again and again recorded frightening declines in the level of people's satisfaction with their lives. Now something sensational has happened during the first seven days of February. For the first time, all three headings under which we have been following the feelings of social well-being of the people have risen simultaneously.

There has been a noticeable reduction—9 percent—in the number of people dissatisfied with their lives. [video shows the question: Dissatisfied with your life? Four columns are shown, indicating that on 9 January, 61 percent said they were dissatisfied; on 16 January, 71 percent said they were dissatisfied; on 30 January, 81 percent said they were dissatisfied; on 6 February 72 percent said they were dissatisfied]

Compare that with what is shown in the next table: The number of people who feel that price liberalization cannot be endured has fallen by 7 percent. [video shows the question: Do you think that price liberalization cannot be endured? Three columns follow, indicating that on 2 January, 25 percent held that view; on 30 January, 46 percent did so; on 6 February, 39 percent held that view]

Finally, as you see, the rating given to Yeltsin's economic policy, which fell by almost one-third during January, has now risen by several points. [video shows the question: Do you believe in the success of Yeltsin's economic policy? The percentages answering yes are: on 2 January, 53 percent; on 16 January, 42 percent; on 30 January, 38 percent; and on 6 February, 42 percent. The poll is credited to the Institute for the Sociology of Parliamentarianism]

Next week's poll will show whether these positive movements indicate a stable trend.

Yeltsin Decree on Defense Ministry Complete

LD1002143392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Lithuanian Radio reports that drafting on a decree by President Yeltsin setting up a Russian defense ministry has been completed. The new ministry will not be allowed to employ more than 300-350 staff. This is several times fewer than the former USSR ministry. This reduction in the establishment is evidence of Russia's fundamentally new defense policy.

Candidates for Defense Minister Previewed

OW1102165992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The movement MILITARY FOR DEMOCRACY believes that Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov is the most likely candidate for the post of Russia's defense minister. Col. Vladimir Smirnov, leader of the movement's coordinating council, told IF [INTERFAX] that "agreement by the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads to have him (Shaposhnikov—IF) appointed Chairman of the Council of Defense Ministers of at least the four nuclear republics of the former USSR, may give him the post of Russia's Defense Minister as well."

The movement, which favors the establishment of a "civilian" defense ministry in Russia, will support the candidacy of Galina Starovoytova, although "in this politically unstable situation President Yeltsin is very unlikely to appoint her to lead the Defense Ministry," Smirnov said.

Starovoytova herself told IF that she had not yet received any official invitation to take on the ministry. However, a large group of generals and senior officers had repeatedly invited her to discuss the concept of Russia's national strategic interests in the changing geopolitical situation. This, Starovoitova observed, "is a theme fitting well into the range of my professional interests."

A group of independent military experts believe that among other possible candidates for Russia's Defense Minister are:

—Col.-Gen. Pavel Grachev, chairman of the Russian Federation Defense Committee—but no earlier than he has proven non-involvement in the Baltic bloodshed of 1991;

—Col.-Gen. Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Main Organization and Mobilization Department of the General Staff; and

—Lt.-Gen. Leonid Ivashov, chief of the department in charge of the affairs of the CIS armed forces command.

Experts believe that Army General Konstantin Kobets, who was acting defense minister of Russia for two days after the suppression of last August's coup, is unlikely to agree to take up the post again in the present situation.

Starovoytova Candidacy Viewed

LD1102211292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1940 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—Galina Starovoytova is considered as a candidate to the post of Russia's defense minister. According to the data from well-informed sources, on February 10, during a conversation of Boris Yeltsin with Galina Starovoytova, people's deputy of Russia, state counsellor to the Russian Federation's president, possibility of her nomination to the post of Russia's defense minister. [sentence as received] In particular, she is supported by the coordination committee of the movement Military People for Democracy. In addition, she has supporters in Russia's State Committee for Defense. Some military experts think that consideration of Galina Starovoytova's candidature testifies to a possibility of setting up of the civil defense ministry in Russia according to the American model. In the nearest time, Galina Starovoytova's trip to the Black Sea Fleet is expected.

The chief staff of the Commonwealth of Independent States favors Aviation Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov as a candidate for the post of Russia's defense minister.

Political Prisoners Remarks on Release

OW1102170192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The ten Political Prisoners released under President Yeltsin's decree on February 7 are not the last citizens of the former Soviet Union convicted under Article 64 of the Penal Code (for high treason). A statement to this effect was made an a Moscow news conference on Tuesday [11 February] by Victor Makarov, an ex-coder of the KGB who has served 5 out of the 12 years to which he was sentenced in the mid-1980s.

Mr. Makarov said political prisoners had been kept not only in tho "political zone PERM-35" closed in early February but also in other corrective centers. e.g. in Georgia and Tajikistan. He does not believe in the democratic reforms in Russia and intends to leave the country.

Vladimir Potashev, an ex-senior researcher of the USA and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said he would do everything possible "to make the rights of prisoners at least partially compatible with the general rights of citizens." According to him, some 30 percent of the inmates have tuberculosis, and the degree of industrial traumatization is very high because of the regular violation of work safety rules. Mr. Potashev spent 9 years in labor camps for what he says was "commenting to the US administration on the latter's own initiatives concerning 'zero option' in nuclear disarmament."

Talk to Journalists

LD1102172392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By KRIM-PRESS and ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Krasylin and Yuriy Soltys]

[Text] Moscow, 11 February (TASS)—Our activities were not punishable even according to the laws which existed in the country before. Such was the opinion of Viktor Makarov, a former political prisoner from the Perm Colony No. 35. He stated this at a news conference which took place today. Recently he and nine others were pardoned by a decree issued by the president of Russia. All of them were sentenced at different times for betraying the motherland according to article 64 of the RSFSR criminal code. Readers are reminded that Viktor Makarov, an officer of the USSR KGB, while employed in the decoding of secret communications from foreign embassies, tried to hand over information about his work to Western secret services.

Another political prisoner, Boris Yuzhin, who formerly worked in the external intelligence service of the USSR KGB, found himself in the dock for collaborating with the FBI during his stay in the United States. But he now considers: "Internal protest had ripened in each one of us, and that is why we broke the law to a greater or lesser extent, but from a moral point of view our actions can be justified."

"We were not betraying our motherland, we only wanted to change it," said Vladimir Potashev, formerly a senior academic at the U.S. and Canada Institute. Under the instructions of the U.S. secret services, on the basis of data at his disposal, he produced an analysis of the so-called "zero option" proposed by Ronald Reagan.

Igor Fedotkin, a former serviceman from the internal forces of the USSR Interior Ministry, said that he was not suited to guarding prisoners, and therefore he and five comrades decided to hijack a plane, in order to escape abroad. They needed weapons for "self-defense in case there was a clash with the hijack snatch group." In the case of failure they were planning to blow up the plane.

Aleksandr Dolzhikov, the fifth participant at the meeting, served as an operator in strategic missile troops, aiming rockets with nuclear warheads at targets in China. His unwillingness to be involved in a possible tragedy was his reason for deserting his military post. "By chance I ended up in China and worked for a year at the oil refinery in Fushun. The Chinese people were very good to me, and did not even make me answer for illegally crossing the border." When he became homesick, Dolzhikov returned to Khabarovsk and found himself behind bars.

It was also noted at the press conference that the only political prisoner remaining at corrective establishment No. 35 is Aleksandr Zavidin. During his service on the border in 1988, he killed a senior guard of a detail which was trying to block his escape into Iran. The pardoned men say that there are still prisoners in CIS countries who have been convicted according to Article 64. There are prisoners in Russia too, but they have been convicted according to criminal articles, since there have been no political trials in the republic since 1987.

Inflation Creates Paper Distribution Crisis

LD1002213892 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sean M. Wood]

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—It may become increasingly difficult to find newspapers which fail to reach an agreement on distribution to CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] newsstands with "Rospechat", the state retail subscription agency (formerly Soyuzpechat). Spiraling inflation and the fact that Rospechat will receive minimal subsidies for 1992 from its parent organisation, the Ministry of Communications, are forcing Rospechat to raise its retail distribution charges.

No longer under the strong arm of the government, Rospechat and its clients are scrambling to strike new agreements under developing market conditions. As the single distribution agency under the former USSR Government, Rospechat remains the only distribution network, with no serious competitors, and they hold a strong bargaining position vis a vis the newspapers.

Some newspapers are balking at the price hikes for fear of losing their readership. IZVESTIYA newspaper claimed in an article published January 31 Rospechat's proposed hikes could force the cost of daily newspapers up to between 3-5 rubles. Weeklies will sell for even more. The weekly newspaper KOMMERSANT is already selling for 6 rubles.

Rospechat Deputy Director Viktor Kokorev explained: "There is a 300 percent gap between what 1992 subscribers paid for their subscriptions back in the fall and actual skyrocketing costs which we could never have foreseen. The government subsidies are supposed to fill this gap, but the expediency of the transfer of this financing to us is dubious, and we need to cover our costs in the meantime". The result is a necessary rise in retail prices for 1992.

IZVESTIYA has formally refused Rospechat's proposed 400-500 percent increase and announced it was negotiating directly with local distribution organisations. The local branches of Rospechat have the right to conclude separate agreements with publications directly.

Rospechat's director of foreign economic affairs and former general director, Gennadiy Frolov, says the IZVESTIYA article misrepresented Rospechat as being implacable when, in fact, Rospechat had offered another option to all publishers. Each newspaper would pay

Rospechat separately for transport costs rather than including them in the price of the publication.

"We felt this was the better option, as the publisher bears the brunt of rising costs, not the consumer", Kokorev added.

As a result, they have reached agreements with at least 16 different papers to date. They settled on price increases of between 2-3 times for distribution outside of Moscow. SOVETSKIY SPORT, for example, will cost 1 ruble 60 kopecks, up from 50 kopecks, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 1 ruble 28 kopecks, up from 60 kopecks, and so forth.

Within Moscow, MOSCOVSKAYA PRAVDA has agreed to sell its 4-page editions for 70 kopecks, up from 40 kopecks and its 8-page editions for 1 ruble 90 kopecks. "Through the negotiating process, we agreed on a mutually beneficial price", MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA secretary-in-chief Aleksey Veshnevetsky said.

Given the absence of competition to Rospechat for newspaper distribution, runaway inflation and the uncertain nature of future subsidies for the press, it is not clear whether all papers will continue to appear on the newstands. Nearly three billion rubles worth of subsidies were given to publications across Russia for the first quarter of 1992, but many papers will either no longer be subsidized or fall under the rubric of new city- and regional-level media ministries.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN Cuts Sales, Publication

924A0530A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed article: "For Now, Three Times a Week and Without Retail Sales: Necessary Explanations to Our Readers"]

[Text] It is hard to write these lines, it is hard and bitter. Only the hope that you will understand and accept this as the only opportunity for us to remain together prompts us to do it.

However, the good news first. According to the department of dissemination of the Pressa Publishing House, the circulation of SELSKAYA ZHIZN increased by another 100,000 in February though, judging by your letters, this number could be higher still. In many post offices, they were openly hampering subscriptions.

Thank you, our friends, for your trust! Whatever they say, it is in our nature to be human, and it is pleasing when those for whom you work appreciate your efforts even if, as is the case now, the latter not only fail to bring you yet another meaningless kopek but, on the contrary, ruin you. Such is the topsy-turvy life we are now living...

In recent months, we have been surprised and upset to such a degree that, it appears, the atrophy of feelings has set in, and we cannot be surprised or upset by anything anymore. However, this is what boundless troubles are all about: Wherever you look and whatever you undertake, all that you can do is silently shake your head in grief.

It is impossible to get used to this. Thank God, it is impossible. This means that we are still alive, and still not ultimately lost. However, each report of this nature is painful; it makes your heart bleed. It hurts three times as much when this directly affects, on top of everything, our newspaper, and you, and us as readers.

All of our hopes for state support for the main agricultural newspaper did not meet with a response by the powers that be. Meanwhile, funds obtained through subscriptions which we have are dwindling at such a rate that they may run out altogether at any time. Hard as it may be, we have decided to switch to publishing the newspaper three times a week. From now on, SELSKAYA ZHIZN will be published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

In all honesty, this will not take care of our financial difficulties. However, we count on this measure helping us to at least keep the newspaper going until the end of the first half year, in order to facilitate subsequent additional subscriptions to our newspaper by those who value it.

We will remain as attentive to what you say as we were. We will keep all of our permanent departments and theme pages. We will continue the advocacy of the rural areas and the peasantry, and closely follow the progress of land reform, with all the difficulties which it faces. Of course, we hope to return to the daily publication format in the future. At any rate, we will do everything to make it so.

One more piece of bad news: From today on, SELSKAYA ZHIZN will not be available for retail sale; we hope that this is likewise temporary. According to a notification from the Soyuzpechat Central Retail and Subscription Agency, which, effective 1 February, is switching to transactions with publishing houses on the retail distribution of publications at unrestricted sale prices, the minimal sale price for our newspaper, with a 25-percent surcharge, has been calculated to be 3.77 rubles per issue. Neither you nor we can agree to this price. Meanwhile, the Soyuzpechat refuses to accept the newspaper for distribution at the old price.

Such is our news; this is what is happening...

Prices Set To Stifle 'Objectionable' Papers

PM1102153392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Natalya Ivanova and Irina Levitskaya report: "Express Poll. How We Are Being Weaned Off Reading"]

[Text] Will you buy a newspaper for 8 rubles [R]? This is food for thought for many people for whom a newspaper's morning issue has become a habit and necessity.

But it is clear that many will have to refrain from this habit in the near future: Journals and newspapers are again rising in price—and rising considerably. And yet many people had gotten into the habit of buying several newspapers at once.

PRAVDA's public opinion study group has conducted a poll of readers who obtain various publication from kiosks of Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications], including PRAVDA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, and IZVESTIYA. They were all posed two questions:

1. How often do you buy newspapers?

2. Will you buy a newspaper if an issue costs: R2, R3, R4, or R5?

The preliminary express poll has shown that 17 percent of those interviewed buy central newspapers on a daily basis, 25 percent buy them every other day, 18 percent—once or twice a week, and the greatest percentage of all (30 percent)—takes the press from time to time. This is not unmotivated. For some people it is expensive to pay out a certain sum every day; others can afford it.

We came to one other conclusion in the light of the poll. If the central publications are going to cost a lot, only the very well-off citizens are able to afford to pay out something over R3—and the majority will give them up. Which means that we will all be the losers—both the journalists and our readers. As one of the people interviewed said: "I far from share all your newspaper's views on what is going on. But I try to buy it. Alongside PRAVDA I buy publications with opposite views: KURANTY, and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Why? I want to work out everything for myself."

It is likely that this is not the only person espousing these principles. But if such people can now just about cope with the expense of the central press, in the future the majority of them will have to give up this habit. This means that there will be considerably fewer people than there are now who think about news and who have their own opinion on a number of issues.

"If newspaper prices rise, I will not be able to buy them every day; at the best only once a week, and then only one paper."

"If prices increase I will not buy any newspapers at all; there is enough news on television and radio."

"I consider that what they are doing to the press is yet another liberty. They are trying to stifle by economic means newspapers which are objectionable to the present government. How do they differ from the members the State Committee for the State of Emergency? That lot simply closed down the newspapers, whereas the others act in a more refined manner."

Incidentally, during the days the poll was carried out the central newspapers simply did not make it to the kiosks. Maybe we will have to forget our way to the kiosks altogether? There really are so very many difficulties.

Will you buy a newspaper for R8?

Distribution, Price Problems Acknowledged

MK1102145892 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Prices of Newspapers, Including NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. Everything That Can Be Is Tangled. And It Cannot Yet Be Untangled"]

[Text] Readers are telephoning us and voicing indignation: "Soyuzpechat" kiosks in Moscow are selling NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA not for 80 kopeks an issue, as the editorial office promised, but at a higher price (ranging from one ruble [R] 10 kopeks to R2). Everything is totally incomprehensible, "Soyuzpechat" personnel to whom the most assiduous readers make their way from time to time blame the editorial office for everything.

Once again we have to explain ourselves regarding this confusion.

The official price of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Moscow in February at "Soyuzpechat" kiosks is 80 kopeks and R1.6 outside Moscow. All other prices of the newspaper are "commercial" prices, that is, they have been set by the vendors without coordination with the editorial office. The editorial office gets no additional income from NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's being sold at these prices.

What is more, we must tell readers that NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA is suspending printing of the newspaper in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Kemerovo, and Tbilisi. Given the dramatic "all-over" price increases, this is unprofitable for the editorial office (particularly in Tbilisi, where paper shipments are now liable to duty in hard-currency equivalent). Nevertheless the newspaper will be circulated in Georgia, the Kuzbass, and Sakhalin (by subscription or retail), but delivered from Moscow.

We also announce that with some persistence readers can get NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA circulation in their region increased—they need to ask the local "Soyuzpechat" to place the appropriate order with Moscow, with the "Soyuzpechat" CRPA [Central Retail and Subscription Agency], (copying the application to the editorial office).

MIA News Agency Reportedly To Be Formed

PM1102174392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 2

["Own information" report: "Here Is the News at RIA NOVOSTI"]

[Text] The reorganization of Russia's news agencies is going ahead at full speed. Now an International Information Agency (MIA) is going to be formed, and ITAR-TASS will consist of two parts.

ITAR has become Russia's state information telegraph agency, and TASS will serve the Commonwealth states, some of which have already declared their readiness to become shareholders in the agency.

A commission to wind up RIA NOVOSTI is working there. As we know, this agency was recently wound up by decree of President B. Yeltsin, and a new structure will be created on the basis of it. Having been relieved of their duties, the agency's leader A. Vinogradov and his first deputy I. Barannikas went on a business trip to the United States, where Barannikas has decided to remain for ever.

M. Poltoranin, the Russian minister of the press and information, speaking to RIA NOVOSTI staffers 5 February, took personal responsibility for the unsuccessful appointments in the agency.

Journalists Consider 'A Day Without News'

PM1202100792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Yu. Sorokin article: "Gaydar Is Our Friend, But the Truth is Increasingly Valuable. Fate of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Press. It Did Not Suffer Long..."]

[Text] I do not like to be a prophet, much less a prophet of doom warning my fellow citizens for the umpteenth time about the end of the world on one-sixth of the earth's surface. These small-print prophecies, as a famous Russian journalist said early in the century, dazzle the eye and leave a bitter taste in the mouth. In justification I can say only one thing—there is not long left. Irksome prophecies of doom will soon die out along with all other types of prophecies.

Somehow, without noticing it, we have reached the point where a fresh copy of a newspaper is no longer a staple morning feature of our mailboxes—on the contrary, newspapers have become an occasional morning feature, and altogether absent from our mailboxes. Incidentally, it is only the readers who have failed to notice this. For journalists there have been years of secret and lively dialogue with the paper producers, the Ministry of Communications, and governments and parties (first one, then another). And in this dialogue the "heroine of perestroyka" who fearlessly stormed the bastions of totalitarianism did not look so heroic. We have been retreating on all fronts, reducing our frequency, cutting print runs, upping prices, and closing down weaker newspapers and magazines. Now the time has come to give up the last mask of socialism—the heroine of perestroyka has become perestroyka's first victim.

I do not know if it is any comfort to say that the planned funeral arrangements promise to be an unforgettable spectacle and that the deceased may take with her to the grave her own grave-diggers—the paper producers and the Ministry of Communications, who will be deprived of a source of profit, and the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] governments, who will be deprived of the opportunity to inform their citizens of their existence. To be serious, you get the impression nobody in these governments is giving a thought to the consequences that all this could have for politics and the economy. Indeed, we are not just talking about one element of our mailbox contents!

On the one hand, the logic of the government—specifically the Russian Government—is consistent and obvious: You wanted the market, here it is. The market presupposes substantive limits on state interference in the economy. It is impossible to subsidize newspapers and magazines when funds for the most urgent necessities are lacking. It is impossible, for instance, to restrict prices of paper and so forth while simultaneously implementing reforms, since in this case the restrictions would affect whole sectors of industry and the infrastructure—the timber and paper industries, transportation, and communications. And behind them are the fuel and energy complex (supplying transportation), machine building (producing machine tools for the paper industry and tractors for the timber industry), and so on—in other words, an entire country which is now incapable of producing a cheap newspaper. Moreover, who will now decide which newspapers to support and which not to? During the years of Soviet power we developed a unique and unnatural mass media system without parallel in the world—giant, artificially supported monopolies. Free competition, according to the government's logic, will restore order to the newspaper and magazine market: The stronger and, consequently, the more necessary will be the survivors.

A great many objections could be raised to this (in particular, "free competition" is still a distant prospect, the only competition is between citizens' pockets). But I do not want to take issue with the government's logic, since it is murderous—or, rather, suicidal. Quite literally.

In the next few days, if no emergency measures are taken, printing presses will grind to a halt at all the major printing houses of the former USSR. All major newspapers published in Moscow and the republics will cease to appear (or switch to two or three issues a week—and even this will not be sustainable for long, incidentally). They are essentially bankrupt already and are being published for all practical purposes at a loss. There are no financial grounds for hoping that the next issue of the vast majority of journals will be published. For all our mass media system's shortcomings it was nonetheless a system of some sort. In the next few months there will be no system: Giants will leave the stage, and small publications will be unable to replace them straightaway in terms either of volume and quality of information, or of size of readership. Television and the radio will be left,

but even there the process of destruction is already under way, and even Yegor Yakovlev himself will not be able to list all the rayon centers refusing to accept Ostankino programs "as a protest."

Let's call a spade a spade: We are on the threshold of a global news crisis which will be unprecedented in scale and, above all, virtually instantaneous. It will occur in a very short period of time.

I would very much like to believe that L. Kravchuk or, say, Yegor Gaydar are prepared for this turn of events, that Gaydar has made specific calculations, and that there is a government action plan ready for this contingency. But I just do not believe that such a plan exists. No government can prepare for an information collapse, since such collapses generally accompany the violent replacement of the government itself. To function normally any society or state needs a corresponding level of information exchange, and a return to a pre-Gutenberg era at the end of the 20th century is tantamount to a state of civil war. Not for nothing did the August putsch start by shutting down newspapers and seizing the television service. Not for nothing, incidentally, do television and radio feature in all modern-day coups as a basic attribute of power which is fought over: The volume of information available to society is reduced to a minimum, and this minimum takes the form of directives whose nonfulfillment means death.

Even if things do not go this far and the press' death throes last a few months, this will not greatly increase current governments' chances of survival. It is hard to imagine the continuation of economic reform—which is enough of a shock already—in the context of an information shock. It is hard to imagine the Commonwealth's continued existence, when the last thing holding its population together—the single information area, so to speak—is being destroyed. On the other hand, it is quite easy to imagine what new "Iskras" [illegal Marxist newspaper published by Lenin in 1900] will fill the news niches previously occupied by PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, or KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Nature abhors a vacuum, and dozens of small-scale, very extreme newspapers financed by shady sources will find a readership. Public opinion will decline to the level of rumor and the mob.

I would very much prefer not to scare people, but I have to admit that I myself am scared by the adolescent maximalist inflexibility used by the Russian Government—to which I am sympathetic—to implement its marvelous market plans. Even though we are talking not about abandoning the reform program but just about not killing the patient during the operation. Last year the Russian Ministry of the Press had already elaborated a plan for temporary measures to in some way protect the press from complete destruction in the transitional period. At a meeting with chief editors a week ago Yeltsin, with his characteristic simplicity, promised to "decide the matter." The plan has been lying around with the government for two months, there are just days left.

The situation is made particularly poignant by the fact that the press has already been divided into "clean" and "unclean." Clearly, the "free market" chalice will pass by those publications subordinate to the government. This means that a quiet, "creeping" coup has already started, and the route it will creep along is well-known—from shutting down the independent press to shutting down reform.

Journalists are seriously discussing a plan for a general act of protest—a "Day Without News."

If the absence of news is indeed the best news, then in this sense everything will be perfect very soon.

Radical Democrats Launch Shadow Cabinet

LD1102171592 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Vinnitskaya]

[Text] Moscow February 11 (TASS)—The new shadow cabinet will devise the most acceptable decisions for legislative and executive bodies on the analysis of the situation in Russia, Sergey Yushenkov, coordinator of the Radical Democrats parliamentary faction told a news conference on Tuesday [11 February].

According to Yushenkov, the shadow cabinet will work out its own ways of solving both the strategic and tactical tasks in transition from a totalitarian society to democracy. As a result a concept of the transitional period will emerge, which the present cabinet lacks.

The cabinet has not been formed completely, but some of its partakers were mentioned at the news conference, Grigory Yavlinsky and Larisa Piyasheva among them.

The cabinet will work on a permanent basis, Yushenkov said, and will address the public through mass media and the "Democratic Reform Foundation" and its subsidiaries both in the country and abroad.

Shadow Cabinet Named

LD1102210592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1940 GMT 11 Feb 92

["Shadow Cabinet Competition Results Announced"—POSTFACTUM headline; from the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—Russian Federation parliament Radical Democrats faction summed up the preliminary results of the competition to select a shadow cabinet. According to the sponsors of the shadow cabinet, they are not aiming at an overthrow of the incumbent administration and intend to act as a consultative opposition. A press conference held on February 11 was told that the development of the program of the shadow cabinet had

been entrusted to US politologist Aleksandr Yanov with French entrepreneur Arkadiy Gaydamak dealing with external economic relations and Yuriy Andreyev, Moscow's vice-premier, being responsible for domestic economy. The foreign policy issues is going to be the sphere of the director of the Center for Political and International Studies Aleksandr Nikitin and the defense issues to be dealt with by Major-General Aleksandr Vladimirov with Mikhail Maliutin, a politologist, responsible for public relations.

Economists Larissa Piyasheva, Grigoriy Yavlinsky and Aleksandr Yemelyanov went on record as willing to cooperate with the shadow cabinet.

Communist Workers Hold Constituent Congress

LD1102051192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1924 GMT 9 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section: "RCWP's [Russian Communist Workers' Party] Constituent Conference Held in Yekaterinburg"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—The constituent conference of the Russian Communist Workers' Party (RCWP) was held in the city of Yekaterinburg on February 8. More than 100 party members participated in the conference. The conference elected the city party committee and discussed the report made by Valeriy Suvarin, leader of the regional RCWP organization, and entitled on the current situation.

The conference also discussed the party goals for the period of economic reform, and the results of the joint plenary meeting, held by the RCWP's Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission in St. Petersburg in January 1992. The conference adopted a resolution which states that the RCWP Yekaterinburg city organization has been established, and stresses the necessity of drawing the city's intellectuals into developing the RCWP's economic program, and the necessity to convene the soviets of working people's deputies, to establish primary RCWP organizations, to set up a training center for political leaders, political clubs, political schools for schoolchildren and young people, and to launch the party's publication.

The resolution also says that political action should be carried out on February 23, April 22, March 8, May 1, and May 9 of 1992. The RCWP was founded at the party's constituent conference held in Yekaterinburg on November 24, 1991 and registered in Moscow in January of the same year. The RCWP membership in Yekaterinburg amounted to 2,000 people on February 8, 1992.

Communist Leader Predicts Party's Decisive Role

OW0802051492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1935 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first secretary of the Moscow bureau of the Russian Communist Workers' Party (RCWP) Viktor Anpilov, has said that he is very cautious about the calls for convening an early 29th Congress of the CPSU. "CPSU CC [Central Committee] people, who set the tune throughout the days of perestroika and have led the country to collapse, must not be allowed to take control of the intention of rank-and-file Communists to revive their party", Anpilov told IF [INTERFAX]. He said that preparations for the congress must be made under grassroots control. He said the Communists were against the "division of popular property" and demanded "returning to society the right to work, free medicare and education". Anpilov believes that the RCWP, having about 20 thousand members, will be unable to become a leading one "in the near future", but in the long run it will play the "decisive role in shaping the political image of our country". "The people will follow the renewed Communist party", he said.

Democratic Reform Movement Rejects 'Extremism'

LD0902035692 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 8 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow February 9 TASS—The organising committee for preparing the first congress of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement has voiced its support for the democratic reform now being implemented in Russia and emphatically rejected extremism and national-chauvinism in any form.

A session of the organising committee held on Saturday [8 February] adopted a statement, the authors of which opposed "the kindling of hostility in society, especially inter-ethnic dislike, as well as the competition of rallies and street confrontation." On the eve of massive demonstrations planned for Sunday [9 February], members of the organising committee urged Muscovites to retain self-control and calmness, and to prevent conflicts.

The session discussed the agenda and draft documents of the constituent congress of the Movement, due to be held in Nizhniy Novgorod on February 15-16. The Congress is expected to adopt a programme and rules of the movement and to elect its coordinating bodies.

The draft rules point out that the Russian Democratic Reform movement is being created to promote the consolidation of progressively-minded forces of the russian federation for implementing the democratic reforms.

Some well-known politicians, who were among the founders of the Democratic Reform Movement last summer, are expected to attend the congress. These include Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, Co-chairman of the Russian

Republican Party Vyacheslav Shostakovsky, Chairman of the Board of the People's Party of Free Russia Vasiliy Lipnitskiy and so on.

Democratic Reform Movement To Hold Congress

MK1102104092 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 3

[Eduard Dorozhkin report: "Russian DRM [Democratic Reform Movement] Assembles in Nizhniy Novgorod"]

[Text] As you know, the first constituent congress of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [DRM] meets 15-16 February this year in Nizhniy Novgorod. The statement adopted at the last session of the organizational committee notes that "in the situation that has developed in society today it is more important than ever before to preserve civil peace and accord." The organizational committee considers it its duty to state its support for the course of reform being implemented in the country and its resolute rejection of any forms of extremism and national chauvinism. It is symbolic that the democratic forum will be held a week after the congress of Russia's patriotic forces. It is planned that representatives of 60 of Russia's regional centers will take part in the congress along with specially invited observers. G. Popov, N. Petrakov, S. Shatalin, and A. Sobchak will take part in the congress. Many matters pertaining to the congress have not yet been decided, but its organizers are full of justifiable optimism: Everything is far simpler (and cheaper) in Nizhniy Novgorod than in Moscow.

Afanasyev Discusses Democratic Russia, CIS

AU1102142992 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Feb 92 p 14

[Interview with Democratic Russia Movement Chairman Yuriy Afanasyev by Jan Zizka; place and date not given: "The Government Assumed Our Program"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Zizka] How do you envisage the future of Democratic Russia now that some parties have left the movement?

[Afanasyev] True, several parties have left, but it was the official leadership that they really left. The strongest among these parties is Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia. Many local organizations of this party dissolved themselves, however, because they disagreed with their own leadership, and they collaborate with us. We disagree strongly with other parties—the Christian Democratic Movement and the Constitutional Democratic Party on the issue of the national state arrangement of Russia and other states.

[Zizka] Do you deal with the archives of the former Communist Party?

[Afanasyev] I am a member of the commission for the transfer of the KGB and CPSU archives to the state. The commission was constituted when there was still the USSR. At the time, there were complications because the CPSU Politburo archive was transformed into President Gorbachev's archive. It was not clear whether we should take it over. A similar situation arose with respect to the archives of the Union KGB, which refused to surrender them. We will have to deal with these issues again.

[Zizka] What is your opinion regarding the fate of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]?

[Afanasyev] There are two types of conflict—between Russia and the Ukraine, but also between Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus on the one hand, and the Central Asian republics on the other. If Ukrainian-Russian relations deteriorate any further, the worst could happen—instability in the Eurasian region. It is necessary to maintain a free flow of money, ideas, people, and culture. The Central Asian republics are in a very difficult situation. The fact that they were a part of the Russian and later the soviet Empire had negative consequences, nature and human health were damaged. The fate of Russia and the Ukraine was also harsh, but it is necessary to see that the Russians and Ukrainians must participate in the revival of the Central Asian economy.

[Zizka] What do you think about the future of Mikhail Gorbachev? Is his return to high office feasible?

[Afanasyev] I will not rule out the possibility—for instance, if CIS coordinating bodies were formed. It would be a mistake to say that he has no place in politics. Gorbachev exhausted himself as a politician at the time he left his post. Everything he undertook was aimed at saving socialism and the empire. It is up to him.

'Moscow Tribune' Social Group Meeting Held

PM1102103592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with S. Pykhtin, lawyer, by Yuriy Makhrin; place, date not given: "Red or Brown Mirage. If There Is No Enemy, One Will Be Invented"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] A routine meeting of members of the "Moscow Tribune" social organization took place 26 January in city hall's luxurious apartments. This session, more than any before it, elicited a vocal reaction. And so it should have done: The speakers stated that there is a threat of fascism in our state, intimidated honest people with an offensive by reds or brownshirts and their press, and called on them to show resistance. In short the dominant theme in this important forum was as follows: "Smash the Russian patriots and save Russia!"

In order to get information at first hand, so to speak, we turned to the lawyer S. Pykhtin, a constant participant in "Moscow Tribune" meetings.

[Makhrin] Sergey Petrovich, what is "Moscow Tribune"?

[Pykhtin] This organization appeared three years ago. Prominent scientists became members of it. World-famous names, brilliant minds! This club of the intelligentsia came into being with the participation of Academician Sakharov in order to defend democracy and human rights...

The recent meeting was, I think, the longest we have had, lasting over four hours. Nuykin conducted it but the writer Oskotsskiy delivered the report. He spoke of the threat of fascism and of its approach. The main speaker and those who spoke after him classified primarily people with communist convictions as fascists. In my view, this is, to put it mildly, a strange assertion. I have not left the CPSU because I was never a member of it. I do not accept Bolshevism but it is not right to make wrongful accusations against communists.

In addition Nevzorov was classified as a fascist. Newspapers such as DEN [Day], PULS TUSHINO [Tushino Pulse], PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA are all described as red or brownshirt publications... They are allegedly mouthpieces propagandizing fascism.

It turns out that criticizing the Russian president is also a manifestation of fascism. Do you express dissatisfaction with Gavriil Popov's actions? Then you are a raging anti-Semite!

The "Working Moscow" movement is also equated with fascism. Lev Ponomarev, having reminded us about the Manezh Square rally which this organization held in January and which was attended by many thousands of people, said: "The communists scored a success!" "Moscow Tribune" members consider any demonstration to be a sign of fascism. They characterize any word of reproach against the executive structures as being a red or brownshirt attack.

The writer Oskotsskiy stated: Now the main danger is that forces such as national-patriotism and the partyocracy are uniting. I believe that it is a fatal error to counterpose democracy to patriotism, as self-styled democratic circles can clearly be seen to do, and, still more, to laugh at a feeling like love for one's homeland."

An interesting feature of the atmosphere of this "Moscow Tribune" meeting is this. As soon as the speaker pronounced the word "patriotism" an indignant murmur could be heard in the hall. People were saying: How dare you speak about that! As I saw for myself, in these circles patriotism is equated with chauvinism. I think that this is yet another very fatal error by the sincere democrats who earlier strove to establish common human values in the country. Now they are professing something else: The uniting of patriots with the democrats is a criminal act, it is necessary to oppose the reds or brownshirts. It was proposed to create an antifascist press.

[Makhrin] A rebuff in the press was organized immediately. Radio Rossii held a "roundtable" discussion, and the participants became so incensed that they called on Yeltsin to deal with the objectionable newspapers and journalists. Last Monday [3 February] Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, an announcer on the "Mayak" radio program, frightened his listeners last thing at night and first thing in the morning with talk of reds or brownshirts. KURANTY came out on 4 February with a front-page banner headline: "Rebuff Reds or Brownshirts."

[Pykhtin] You see, it is not difficult to organize a witch hunt of the red or brown mirage. It is no secret that "Democratic Russia" controls a significant part of our press. Such control of the "fourth estate"—the free press—in my opinion represents a greater danger today than the mythical danger of fascism.

But let us return to the city hall's auditorium where the orators were vying with one another. Just imagine: It was mostly elderly people at the meeting. Then a young, knowledgeable person mounted the podium—"Democratic Russia" leader Ilya Zaslavskiy—and began to talk about the Jewish pogroms which are allegedly being organized and the Russians' allegedly strong feeling of anti-Semitism. Passions were really being whipped up...

[Makhrin] You said the red or brownshirt myth. Does this mean that you do not believe in the threat of fascism?

[Pykhtin] I do not! It is not fascism which threatens Russia but the return of neobolshevism. And here the threat does not emanate from some red or brown cloud, but unfortunately from the democratic structures and circles.

[Makhrin] Why have passions suddenly begun to be whipped up now about the threat of fascism? Has the rally set for 9 February really scared the democrats so badly?

[Pykhtin] You must understand that for the powers that be the hour of reckoning is coming. There were many promises, but the people's life is becoming intolerable. There is universal disillusionment with leaders and idols. The ruling "Democratic Russia" faction sees and understands this, and for it the most important thing today is to find an enemy. If there is not an enemy it has to be invented, in order to say to the people: The reds or brownshirts got in our way.

The "Moscow Tribune" speakers also used this in a very primitive way to smear young politicians like Sergey Baburin, people with a statesmanlike frame of mind, as reds or brownshirts.

This is the reaction of the failed rulers to the grave situation in Russia. They have no program, which means they also have no future.

'Democratic' Coalition Demands Recall of Agents

OW0702162492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Coalition of the democratic forces of Moscow demanded that the Russian authorities should recall the "laid up" agents of the former KGB from the officially registered political parties. According to a statement by the political council of the coalition issued on Friday [7 February], if the Russian authorities fail to do so, the coalition "will urge its oil parties not to support the present government".

The statement was made in connection with the interview of Yevgeniy Savostyanov, head of the Moscow board of the Federal security agency, to "New Time" magazine which informed of KGB agents implanted in political parties, the coalition political council stresses.

The coalition unites Moscow-based organizations of the Democratic party of Russia, social democrats, democratic Christians and other organizations.

Christian Democrat Says CIS 'Not Viable'

LD0802173392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1122 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Video speech by Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, on 6 February on preparations for Congress of Civilian Patriotic Forces in Russia—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] We have asked Russian television to give us the opportunity to tell of the progress of preparations for the Congress of the Civilian Patriotic Forces of Russia, which is to take place 8-9 February in the Rossiya Cinema in Moscow.

First, the question arises as to why it has become necessary to summon such a forum. We can all see that all is not well in our life. We are convinced that our latest political action—the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]—is not viable. This so-called Commonwealth is in effect leading to the final disintegration of a once united peoples, of a united people and a united statehood. The concept of the CIS destroys a great country, dismembers the single economic space, and stimulates the destruction of our united army. Undoubtedly, as Metropolitan Kiril said, any border between units of a united army sooner or later gives rise to the danger of their becoming battlefronts. All of this creates regions of instability in our country, and in the final analysis stimulates nationwide slaughter and civil war.

We are also not completely in accord with the ideas of economic reform, which currently dominate policy. We consider that the so-called free prices which have been announced are not free prices at all, since free prices can be established only in a free market, where there are various forms of property and a strong private sector. In order to achieve this, what should have been done was to carry out demonopolization, destatification of the state sector, and also to adopt preliminary protective measures. At present, however, with the monopoly position of the state sector, any removal of controls on price formation leads in essence to an unbridled rise in prices, and this undoubtedly leads in essence to the robbery of the great mass of our population.

That is the viewpoint of some politicians, but alas the citizens of our country have virtually not heard this viewpoint because, in our view, the left-liberal political ideology dominates our political life. This left-liberal political ideology, among other things, is trying to convince us that the Russian people are occupiers in this whole vast country, that it enslaves the other peoples of this country. We, however, are convinced that the Russian people, just like all the other peoples, was enslaved by the common international totalitarian regime.

Similarly, left-liberal ideology tries to convince us that it is shameful to be a Russian patriot, that Russian patriotism is without fail chauvinism, aggressive nationalism, or imperialism. For some reason everyone regards it as normal that the FRG should be concerned at the fate of the Volga Germans. But when we Russians naturally express concern at the fate of Russians outside the Russian Federation—about the fate of, say, the Russians in the Crimea—this is as a rule described as chauvinism or imperialism.

Similarly, we constantly hear—we hear every day, and people try to convince us that it is a good thing—that this vast country, this so-called empire, is being dismembered. But this is also a sort of double criteria. It takes our country outside the framework of civilization because such ideas in any other country would look absurd. [passage omitted]

In our country, however, this is permissible. We consider that this dominating, monopolizing left-liberal political ideology is in essence an ideology of national abasement. Any abasement of national dignity—and let us remember the experience of Germany in the 1920's here—inevitably stimulates chauvinist and pro-fascist tendencies in society.

So, it is in order to create some sort of alternative to this monopoly of the left-liberal ideology on the one hand, and on the other to prevent our society from falling under the influence of right-radical political doctrines that we have organized the convening of a Congress of Civilian Patriotic Forces of Russia. [passage omitted]

[Aksyuchits] I have said that the concept of the CIS is extremely destructive. But even in these catastrophic conditions there is the possibility of achieving some constructive steps. But we see no sign of them. What do we consider is necessary to do in the very near future in the sphere of state and national policy? First it is necessary to acknowledge that the concept of the CIS is not viable and not to try to deceive oneself, deceive society, and deceive other people.

We are convinced that it is essential to acknowledge the totally arbitrary nature of the Lenin-Stalin borders of all territories, of all present and former republics which cut through the vital interests of tens of millions of people and, consequently violate their fundmental rights and freedoms. That does not mean it is necessary to determine any territorial claims. There are a whole range of political methods for resolving these questions. These include talks, agreements, diplomatic methods, and, in the final analysis, all of this should in our view be directed toward holding referenda in the various disputed territories so that the people living there may determine the question of where and how they are to live, and with whom.

Similarly, we are convinced that the Russian leadership is simply obliged to defend the interests and freedoms of Russians outside the Russian Federation, the Russian-speaking population. As I have said, this is a worldwide practice. Why are our politicians out on their own here? They are ashamed to admit this, and they are ashamed to carry it out in practice.

It is very important not to allow the dismemberment of the Army. The Army should be united whatever happens because its dismemberment will undoubtedly give rise to and stimulate large-scale wars between various regions of our country.

As far as the economy is concerned, unfortunately our government, just like all the preceding ones, has achieved much in destroying the country's economic life, and we are convinced that at present reforms have not yet begun; there is just a fiction of a reform. Unfortunately, it is necessary to start by stabilizing the economy and by restorating vertical and horizontal economic links. Simultaneously, however, it is necessary to carry out step by step—and not all at once as some of our economists wish to declare—a reform of the economy, a market reform, and naturally, demonopolization of state property and the destatification of this vast monster, the state sector, and the corresponding privatization. The distribution of state property to the citizens of our country should be carried out in accordance with well-known and publicized principles. Everyone should know what rights they have in this and what they can claim.

Furthermore, we are convinced that our government should give much more thought to creating various social protection measures.

One more aspect. All the spasmodic actions of our government are aimed to a large extent at suppressing our country's entrepreneurialism. It is creating advantageous conditions for Western entrepreneurs, and in the final analysis this could lead to Russia's being turned into a raw material appendage of the industrial powers.

Democratic Party of Russia on Black Sea Fleet

LD0702231592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1945 GMT 6 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section: "Fate of Black Sea Fleet must be decided by all presidents"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Moscow—Chairman of Democratic Party of Russia Nikolay Travkin believes the fate of the Black Sea Fleet should be decided not by Kravchuk and Yeltsin, but by all the presidents of the sovereign states.

Travkin said that all the republics of the former Union had made a contribution to the creation of the fleet. Speaking on the upcoming meeting in Minsk, the chairman of the Democratic Party said he was sure agreement would be reached there and a certain part of the Black Sea Fleet would pass under Ukraine's control.

Travkin denied reports suggesting that Kazakhstan adopted a position of neutrality vis a vis the future of the Black Sea Fleet. According to him, president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev advocates the idea of a single Black Sea Fleet responsible for strategic tasks on the southern flank in the interests of the entire Commonwealth of Independent States.

On February 6, Travkin also said: As long as Russia and Ukraine are now sovereign states, there can be no question of any territorial gifts, and the Crimean must certainly be returned to the Russian Federation. According to Travkin, this solution is perfectly legitimate and constitutional. Travkin does not have any doubts about the outcome of the upcoming referendum in the Crimea.

Russian National Democratic Party Established

OW1002123092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Liberation Movement (RLM) sees it as its main function to work for the establishment of a Russian state on the territory of the Russian Federation. Leaders of the RLM organizing committee told this to journalists in St. Petersburg on Sunday [9 February] after the end of an RLM assembly that set up a Russian National Democratic Party and adopted a program of work for a government of national trust during the formation of an independent Russian state.

RLM activists do not rule out that the Yeltsin-Gaydar government will succeed in stabilizing the situation, but they nevertheless insist on establishing a Russian state with a government of its own. They rely for support on the increasingly strong nationalist sentiments on the part of the people.

'Central Russia' Independent Association Formed

LD0902172992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of chairmen of oblast soviets and towns of Russia's central region started in Moscow today. They have assembled in order to set up the Central Russia [Tsentralnaya Rossiya] independent association. In the conditions of the decentralized economy and market relations, the Association will serve to coordinate joint activity among the oblasts and towns, which make it up, in perfecting new methods of managing the economic complex.

According to the idea of the Tsentralnaya Rossiya members, this Association will really be able to promote the all-round socio-economic and cultural development of administrative-territorial entities which are historically interlinked. An interest in setting up such an association has been expressed by all regions of Central Russia.

The soviets of people's deputies and the heads of administration are the founders of the Association. The organization being set up is undoubtedly advantageous to the government, for its members undertake to set up mechanisms for the most efficient use of productive forces and natural resources of the regions, and of the production capacities concentrated in them. The final aim is to raise the population's living standard.

The questions which are being discussed by the assembly, apart from organizational ones, also touch upon specific vital problems of the present-day, in the first place smallholdings and ways of giving all-round assistance. Moreover, the associaton, in accordance with the charter which is being adopted, will carry out economic, commercial, and charitable activities.

Rebirth Party Proposes New Government

LD0902024992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 7 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Rebirth Party of the Russian Popular Front held its news conference in the Moscow Soviet building. It was intended to discuss two questions: the attitude to the 9 February rally and the possible participation as observers in the Congress of Civilian and Patriotic Forces. But, first of all, those assembled familiarized themselves with the party's stance with respect to existing policy.

In its address, the executive committee sharply criticized the Yeltsin-Gaydar economic program, having noted the total—from its point of view—incompetence and anti-people character of the present government. It proposed setting up instead a new government which will be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies of the former Union which, in the view of the Rebirthers, was illegally deprived of its powers.

The following measures were proposed to the new government: It should bring the armed forces under its command, throw all resources into the spring sowing campaign and introduce a ration system for foodstuffs and goods. The leaders of the party see a way out of the economic crisis which has sprung up in an orientation towards a new industrial state, for instance, China, and towards a modern, technotronic society. These two methods were proposed to those gathered by Valeriy Skurlatov, a member of the party's executive committee. He backed up his address with historical examples, including the U.S. Civil War of all things, which took place a hundred years ago.

At times he shone with erudition in the sphere of literature: He recalled the demons of Dostoyevskiy in connection with the collapse of the Stolypin reform. Concerning the consequences to which the present economic policy will lead, in the speaker's opinion one can read in Goethe's second part of Faust.

'Russian Social-Liberal Party' Formed

MK1102104292 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 4

["Yu.T." report: "Liberals, But Different"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Russian Federation's Social-Liberal Association has been held in Moscow and the Russian Social-Liberal Party formed. It seems to have been possible to harness the socialist steed and the liberal deer to the same carriage.

The association emerged in November 1991 within the Republic Party of Russia as a result of an ideological split within the party leadership between the champions of socialism and liberalism. It considers itself the mouthpiece of the interests of the middle strata based on a social partnership between labor, capital, the state, and democratic political forces. The democratic emphasis is important since the middle has dropped out of the "social-democrat-liberal" triad, evidently for brevity's sake since the main values of a democratic society to which the Social-Liberal Association is directing its attention are freedom, human rights, civic solidarity, labor, private ownership, and social justice. The Social Liberals see the possibility of these being brought to fruition in a society that combines the development of the best features of Western civilization with Russia's national and historical features. Admittedly, it is not clear whether they can be combined in the foreseeable future.

The Social-Liberal Association began its activity by joining the "New Russia" bloc, along with the Peasant, People's, and Social Democratic Parties and the "Young Russia' alliance, but the association decided not to join in the 9 February rally or join the "Democratic Russia"

leadership. It is hard to tell how far these steps accord with the avowed desire to consolidate various social forces.

'Russian Community' Association Founded

924C0571A Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by F. Yemchenko: "Let Us Hold Hands, Friends: 'Russian Community' Association Founded in Moscow"]

[Text] These days, when the majority of the population of the former USSR are busy trying to solve the problem of feeding themselves and their children, the sinister figure of another threat—nationalism—is rising behind their backs. Seats of tension are multiplying. Blood is already being spilled in the Caucasus; alarming news is coming from the Baltics and Moldova. The governments of the independent states, up to their ears in economic problems, either do not have the time or are unable to resolve the increasingly acute interethnic problems. To provide a stand against destructive tendencies, to rein in the spreading interethnic strife and mutual alienation is the task the recently born movement of solidarity of sovereign states and small national autonomies sets for itself. The Russian Community association was founded within the framework of this movement; its task is to protect the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member countries. A few days ago a presentation of the new public entity was held.

Archimandrite Innokentiy, Cosmonaut V. Sevostyanov, and representatives from the Red Cross, the Jurists Union, and the Human Rights Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet all spoke of the need for more decisive public involvement in the resolution of interethnic problems and in active defense of human rights in the CIS countries.

The main thread running through all the speeches was the idea: Nationalism will be stopped if all people of goodwill resist it through their solidarity.

Two Parties Register With Same Name

LD0902171892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent V. Budnikov on official registration of Party of Constitutional Democrats, including recorded remarks by M. Astafyev, chairman of the Constitutional-Democratic (People's Freedom) Party; from the "Vesti" newscast presented by V. Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Against the background of the mirthless Russian and in general present-day life, the wave of new parties, movements, and fronts is growing. It would be a very good thing if all of them, in particular the fronts, lived by the peaceful laws of a civilized society. [video shows presentation and RSFSR Justice Ministry certificate of registration of Constitutional-Democratic (People's Freedom) Party dated 25 September 1991]

[Budnikov] The official registration of the Party of Constitutional Democrats and the presentation organized in this connection did not pass unnoticed. The party which also calls itself Constitutional-Democratic, but which registered a year earlier, was exasperated. The difference between the two parties with identical names is very substantial.

[Astafyev] We are a more conservative party. We come out in favor of traditional Russian values. We are not afraid of calling ourselves patriots. For the other party patriots is a swear word, you understand. We are against the disintegration of the country, we are against the division of the army. The other party—it welcomes the disintegration and engaged in active propaganda for it.

[Budnikov] In the view of the party's leader, the Ministry of Justice is to blame for all this.

[Astafyev] In our country this is being done especially in order to turn political life into a jumble, for there to be a muddle, so that no one understands who the newspapers are backing.

Commentator Ponders 9 Feb Moscow Rallies

PM1102172192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 1

[A. Pankratov commentary as part of feature under general headline: "Raucous Passions"]

[Text] We have gotten used to simplifying everything.

Simplification No. 1. Foreign television news reported: In Moscow two rallies were held—one against, and the other in support of B. Yeltsin.

Why, at the rally outside the "White House" you could at times hear things directed at the authorities which were somewhat more biting than the expressions used at Manezh Square (which at least the speeches by Chernichenko, Urazhtsev, and others deserve). Without going on to the subject of the personality of the president himself, the speakers directed quite a few sharp words at the excessively large bureaucratic apparatus.

Simplification No. 2. Communists came out to oppose the democrats. (Or vice versa.) The only thing is "who is who...?" When everyone is swearing oaths of allegiance to democratic ideals irrespective of the consequences, and then doing everything which is contrary to them, it simply is possible to mix up the true champions with the imposters. What is more, the political spectrum is so confused today that it is simply not possible to determine the social bases of the two opposing camps. I think it is completely conceivable that many of the people who spent their day off in Manezh Square will appear tomorrow outside the "White House." Or vice versa.

Simplification No. 3. The social explosion which everybody was talking about for so long has happened!

And the final simplification is the most dangerous. For the period of stagnation has ended, and the orderliness of "Working Russia," which has provided the initiative for a number of rallies against the government all over the republic, and the obvious confusion of the democrats who are attempting to convince first and foremost themselves—"we are in the majority!"—both demonstrate: An open political confrontation has started.

But for the moment it is the most active participants who have lost: their faith, position, "meal ticket," purpose in life, ideals... But as often happens in a street fight—you only have to wave your arms and...

And you do not change horses midstream—it is necessary to allow the government to finish the price liberalization and complete the reform of the economy. However, you no longer want to believe those incantations like "hang on a bit longer"—you want to know how we are going to get out of the mire.

Evidently, you really cannot avoid authoritarianism. And if the democrats who are in power do not decide on tough political measures—other people will decide on them. Rallies and squabbles may keep down prices, but they will not put any more goods in the stores.

At one of the rallies we heard that a politician, like a bomb disposal officer, does not have the right to make a mistake.

The philosopher N. Berdyayev noted that our people very readily believe in social utopias. The illusion that they will quickly become reality is dear to the Russian character at large. However, at the moment each person will have to make a tough choice: utopia or real life... Which is threatening to turn into one long meeting with a break for civil war over a piece of sausage and the color of a banner. Will we come to our senses?

Import-Export Firm Jurisdiction Noted

LD0702215492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] The presentaton of the firm Mashpriborintorg has taken place. This ceremony marks the transferral of the Union's external trade organization, which was set up in 1959, to the jurisdiction of Russia. The firm imports communications equipment and devices for measuring electricity, and exports television and radio apparatuses and medical equipment, produced mostly by the enterprises of the military-industrial complex.

Minister Details Role of Railways

LD1102194892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] What does the success of economic reforms depend on? Gennadiy Fadeyev, minister of railways of the Russian Federation, was unequivocal and categorical in his reply to this question: on the railways alone. Although the all-union ministry of railways has disintegrated along with the USSR itself, and the republics have created their own structures for running railway transport, a unified network of railways is being preserved. Unified tariffs are also being preserved, according to agreements that have been reached. But, unfortunately, all the railway workers' former problems have also been preserved. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Fadeyev] All political and economic reforms should rely on the good and smooth running of the transport system, above all, of our Russian Federation. And if the railways—and you will recall the amount they transport—do not work satisfactorily, they could overturn any political or economic reform. It is extremely important for railway transport to work precisely and to insure during the present period the requirements for passenger and freight transportation at the necessary level.

[Correspondent Osipov] At first glance, railway workers are coping with their duties. Whereas in 1990 the sector had losses of 6 billion rubles [R], to date, the profits of Russia's railways amount to R42 billion. Let me say right away that the minister is requesting over R120 billion for spending, explaining this by the unprecedented rise in the cost of rolling stock. Whereas one car used to cost R75,000, today a passenger car now costs R4 million. The cost of an electric locomotive has risen to R30 million. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Comments on Coordination With CIS

LD1102201692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Ryabov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 February (TASS)—The Ministry of Railways of the Russian Federation is to implement coordination of the work of the railways of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] for the whole transition period. Gennadiy Fadeyev, Russian minister of railways, stated this today at a meeting with journalists. The ministry has been delegated this right by all the heads of the railway administrations of the Commonwealth, on their signing the appropriate agreement at the end of last month.

Gennadiy Fadeyev said that in the future the role of coordinating center will be undertaken by an inter-state executive body for supervision of transportation between countries of the CIS. In his opinion this body will be set up at the coming meetings of the heads of governments.

Concerning the question of the recent raising of tariffs for transportation, Gennadiy Fadeyev pointed out that this will make it possible, basically, to cover the industry's expenses in the current year, amounting to about 10 billion rubles [R]. At the same time the minister stressed

that if the overall increase in prices continues at the same rate, then the railwaymen too will be forced to raise their tariffs to cover their losses. Thus, last year losses amounted to R1.5 billion, and this year they will increase to R24 billion. The main reason is the increase in the cost of rolling stock. Now, for instance, the cost of passenger cars, which are mainly supplied from Germany, the FRG, has increased from R200,000 to R5 million.

The head of the ministry said that in order to put the situation right, contacts were being made with the German side concerning the establishment of a joint enterprise in Tver for the manufacture of cars and compartments.

Oil Extraction Rates Continue To Decline

LD1102201792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] According to Goskomstat reports, oil extraction in Russia continues to fall. In January it fell by approximately 15 percent. At this rate the republic could have a shortfall of 50 million tonnes of oil by the end of the year.

Russian Science Minister Discusses Problems

OW1002140092 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Studio interview with Boris Georgiyevich Saltykov, Russian minister of science, higher education and technical policy, by Sergey Lomakhin; live; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] [Lomakhin] Let me introduce our guest by his full name and title: Boris Georgiyevich Saltykov, minister of science, higher education and technical policy in Russia. We started the project of introducing our politicians to the public in November, and continue to do so.

Boris Georgiyevich, society has been living for some time under conditions of—how shall I put it? Of near market economy, or at least under the conditions of liberalization of prices and their wild increases. However, pay rates did not increase as fast. I have recently learned that higher education teachers still get the same pay as before the price rises, and such a discrepancy is very regrettable, of course.

[Saltykov] Things are a little different. Aside from politics, there are also technical problems, such as the shortage of paper money with which to pay wages, and so on. Actually, higher education teachers have certain advantages, unlike scientists at universities like the ones in the report that you have just shown. President Yeltsin's first decree was a decree on education. In compliance with this decree, wages of the higher education teachers, that is, of the professors, have been increased threefold since 1 January. Those working at budgeted organizations, namely the scientists, got only a one and nine-tenth increase. Therefore, there is some tension in this field over the differences in the increase.

Of course, our task is not to forget health care and science too, but I think that this decree was issued under different conditions, and might have had political overtones—the president's decree number one is dedicated to problems of education—and today we should think of all these groups in our society, that is, the groups of cultural workers, including the workers of science, health care and culture.

But even a threefold pay increase will not catch up with the rate of inflation about to engulf us, and the report you have shown confirms that our society is in a severe crisis, and that when there is a problem getting food, no one needs science.

[Lomakhin] But this is ridiculous!

[Saltykov] This is not ridiculous...

[Lomakhin interrupting] No civilized country can exist without scientists!

[Saltykov] Quite so. But what can you do about mediocre common sense? We, the people appointed to governmental posts so as to administer science and the development of society, understand this very well. We do all we can so as not to forfeit science, since I am convinced that in a couple of years everything will settle down, and we will remember the current crisis as a nightmare long gone. Then we will demand to have these brains, but they will not be with us anymore.

I do not really understand who closed the Moscow Institute of Haematology, since today, every institute has a customer, such as the state, an enterprise, a company and so on. The state finances the basic research, and a state institution such as the Ministry of Health finances such an institute, or places orders for projects concerned with health and such like. Therefore, although this story should be investigated, one thing is true —our developments and research correspond to world standards to a large degree, and are in demand abroad.

[Lomakhin] I would like not to dwell overmuch on this report, since it is not more than an illustration...food for thought. I have another question that interests and disturbs me very much: We always ask our scientific, technical and other intelligentsia to wait. Let us say it straight — the intelligentsia never lived very well. Now we are telling them: let us wait two or three years more, tighten our belts, and work hard. In a couple of years, everything will be all right. At the same time, they hear a voice from around the corner: Guys, there is no need to wait. We are willing to accept you at the world's best universities, and pay you very good salaries. We need your brains. How does the government and the leadership of the country stem this very natural brain drain?

[Saltykov] In the long run, there is no way this drain can be stemmed. A scientist is a free person, and if a foreign

university invites you, it is your choice to stay or to go. However, since these alternatives are not really comparable, the choice is obvious. Therefore, our task is to create here bearable conditions for work. Strange as it may seem to the man in the street, they do not go there for high pay, but rather for the opportunity to work using modern equipment, to realize their ideas under normal conditions, and so on. The pay abroad is not an obstacle, of course, but it accompanies these conditions.

Therefore, in an attempt to achieve a similar level, or at least to raise the level of their material well-being, our scientists appealed to the world's scientific community, asking them to help save Russian fundamental science. This appeal has been answered.

President Yeltsin is expected to visit the U.S. and France, and we expect French President Mitterrand to announce the creation of an international fund for supporting Russian science. This is a multi-million dollar fund, organized by a group of European Nobel prize winners in order that a large number of scientists here could receive grants. The magnitude of these grants is normal for Western scientists, but here it will be dramatically large. The average grant for a five- or six-person research group is about $100,000 in the U.S. This includes the pay, the purchase of small-scale apparatus, a personal computer and so on. In short, this provides the research group with working conditions for a year.

[Lomakhin] May God grant it. And another question. Lately, the media has claimed that there is a real danger, and even concrete offers to our nuclear physicists to move to countries with—how shall I say—with unfavorable regimes, so as to engage in research, and even make nuclear weapons. Supposedly, certain moves in this direction have already been made. Is it true, or are the rumors exaggerated?

[Saltykov] In a nutshell, the rumors are greatly exaggerated. Theoretically, one cannot exclude the possibility of one of the nuclear physicists agreeing to move to such a country. Up till now, there have been no actual cases.

Moreover, the creation of the bomb is more than just a person or two who know the secret; it is also a whole complex of equipment and special technologies, which cannot be hidden in a small room or in a cave. Even if a person moves there, several years of work at such a center are required to approach the creation of a bomb. According to our information, no Russian or Soviet physicist has moved anywhere. I used the word Russian on purpose, since the two largest institutes which manufacture nuclear weapons—the only institutes which manufacture them—are located on Russian territory — these are Arzamas-16 and Krasnoyarsk-70.

However, the question of creation of a special fund for supporting the nuclear physicists is being discussed on an international level, and the U.S. is concerned with it more than anyone else. The fund will support the scientists either in their own country or in joint projects in countries which control such weapons, so as to avoid the possibility of these people moving to the countries you mentioned.

[Lomakhin] Thank you. One would like to believe that the funds and the foreign countries will help us. However, we are running out of time, so I would ask you to answer the next question briefly.

Taking into consideration that at this stage we are being watched by the intelligentsia, by your colleagues, by scientist, teachers and engineers—what can you tell them? What should they hope for?

[Saltykov] The truth is that there is no formula for salvation. During the last couple of months, I have interviewed scores of people on this very subject—leading scientists, engineers, and academicians. We are working on such a formula together.

To look for salvation means looking for sources of financing and support. As I have already said, there is enough money in the commercial structures of Russia itself, and our task is to interest them in domestic developments and attract their capital here, since at present inflation rates money will be nothing but paper. But there is still little progress in this direction. As to the international funds, it is a natural thing, and we must not think that it is the same as the humanitarian help to Russia, like the meat, the bread and so on. It is just that the international community is concerned with the preservation of a complex structure called international science. Our scientific institutes are inseparable parts of the international scientific community.

[Lomakhin] So, God helps those who help themselves?

[Saltykov] To a certain degree that is so. The government will give the scientists all it can, but it does not have very much.

Unpublished Lenin Material To Be Released

LD1002194192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1512 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (TASS)—A collection of previously unpublished materials connected with the activities of Lenin, founder of the CPSU and the Soviet state, will be published during the next year or two. Rudolf Pikhoya, chairman of the Archives Committee attached to the Russian Federation Government, told journalists this in the press center of the Russian Government today. He said the six or seven volume collection will include several thousand documents which, as he put it, "should not have been published from the point of view of the CPSU leadership".

Memorandum Proposes Transfer of Kurils

PM1002113592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by N. Garifullina: "From the News Conference of the Russian National Union: Action Week Has Begun"]

[Text] The action week for Russia's unity and territorial integrity opened in Volgograd with a requiem for those who died at Stalingrad held on the initiative of the Cossack community. This was followed by a rally on Fallen Fighters' Square organized by the Veterans Council, the Socialist Working People's Party, the Russian Communist Workers Party, the "Sovremennik" youth society, and the Russian National Union.

The event has been held because of the complex domestic political situation and complications that have arisen on virtually all the Russian Federation's borders, RSFSR People's Deputy Sergey Baburin, chairman of the Russian National Union Board, stated at a news conference devoted to the Action Week and to the congress of civic and patriotic forces planned for 8-9 February. He expressed regret that the Russian Government leadership has adopted a course of economic reforms via the selling off of not only raw materials but also territory. Many leading figures advocate the transfer of the Kuril Islands to Japan and a refusal to examine on Russia's initiative the question of the status of the Crimea. In view of this position by the Foreign Ministry, almost all Russia's neighbors have made territorial claims on it. Latvia has demanded part of Pskov Oblast and now Mongolia is laying claim to 60,000 square km.

The Kuril Islands were the hottest topic at the news conference. During the meeting signatures were collected in the hall against the transfer of the islands to Japan. The real sensation was Sergey Baburin's report that members of the Russian Supreme Soviet had recently been able to see a "memorandum" signed by two officials, including the foreign minister in Russia, and addressed to its president. The memorandum proposes transferring the islands to Japan.

Supreme Soviet

Further on CPSU Financial Dealing Hearings

Lisov Cited on Foreign Spending

LD1002200992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] At present, various phenomena and facts are being made public about which we either vaguely guessed previously or did not guess that they happened at all. New movements, parties, are coming into being, including a neo-Bolshevik party, the direct successor of the CPSU, which had completely grown together both with our former state and with our former criminal KGB leadership. Facts which surfaced during the parliamentary hearings of the Russian Supreme Soviet testify to this. Today, hearings were held in the investigation of the financial activity of the CPSU. Russian Deputy Procurator General Yevgeniy Lisov reported that financial aid from the USSR was received by 98 foreign parties and organizations, including prohibited organizations in approximately 80 countries. For this purpose, at the beginning of the 1950's, in keeping with a CPSU Central Committee decision, an international fund for assistance to fraternal parties was set up. Every year 22-25 million dollars accumulated in this fund's account, 20 million of which was contributed by the CPSU. The greatest financial assistance was given to the Communist parties of the United States, France, Finland, and Israel.

Let us listen to what Yevgeniy Kuzmich Lisov, deputy prosecutor general of Russia, said at the parliamentary hearings.

[Begin Lisov recording] The decision on the financing of the Communist parties was adopted at the Politburo. This Politburo decision envisaged not only the fact of the handing over money to foreign communist parties, but also determined where this money should be obtained in the USSR. You see, this money was taken from the state. Instructions were given to the government to allocate a certain sum. Then, the mechanism for sneding the money abroad was determined. The sum that went abroad to Communist parties in other countries in that period amounts to more than 200 billion dollars.

How specifically did the transfer of the money abroad take place? At the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, a small circle of people was selected—in practice it was generally one person—who then learned that there was foreign currency in the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and that this foreign currency could be withdrawn within half an hour and sent abroad. The executor, the submissive, smart operator of the CPSU Central Committee, that attached member of staff, received such an instruction from the leadership, after which he would dial the number of the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and ask for, let's say, 1.5 million dollars. The person at the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity knew what it was about, put 1.5 million dollars in a briefcase and brought them to the department of the CPSU Central Committee. After that, there would be a phone call from the USSR KGB and the date that the relevant courier would arrive at the CPSU Central Committee was specified. The courier came and collected the briefcase containing the money and signed for them, and via KGB channels this money made its way to the country it was intended for. There the money was handed over to the head of the Communist Party. He signed for it. The receipt was returned via KGB channels to the Union. It was handed over to the CPSU Central Committee and was kept in a special file.

This was the mechanism by which the money was transferred abroad. Our questions here are the following:

What right did the country's party authority, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, as a public organization, despite its ruling and leading principles, to remove money from the state and to make a gift of it to anybody at all? It would be one thing if there had been a state treaty regarding the rendering of material aid to someone. It is another matter when a public organization removes money from the state and squanders it. Is there a case for criminal proceedings to be instituted here? If so, what does it consist of?. That is the first thing.

Second, to what extent was the procedure lawful for transferring money abroad in that manner, practically illegally? Has a crime been committed here, and what does it consist of? Who is responsible for committing these acts? That is the third thing.

Finally, we cannot get away from many questions about the positions and activities and acts of specific former friends of ours abroad. I have in mind the friends of the CPSU, who received this money and what they did with it. This is, of course, first and foremost not our affair. But for all that we shall have to answer many of those questions. [end recording]

Yevgeniy Kuzmich Lisov said today in the Russian parliament that the financial assets of the CPSU, amounting to 7 billion rubles, had been seized. Of them, 2.5 billion rubles consist of real estate. I think that is only the visible part of the gigantic financial iceberg. The Russian deputy procurator general also reported the continuing investigation of other financial abuses by the CPSU, including the failure to reveal financial resources concealed by it and the transfer of gold abroad.

Investigation 'Must Be Accelerated'

OW1102194992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1850 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov stated that the investigation of the actions of the Communist Party must be accelerated if "it raises its head now". Filatov commented in an interview Monday [10 February] on information given at parliamentary hearings, in particular concerning the financing of communist movements abroad. Filatov gave the interview after meeting with a delegation of the British parliament from the Conservative and Labor parties headed by Jeffrey Ray, a member of the Conservative Party.

The facts show that the communist party is a party of criminals, Filatov commented, and only a court can close the books on it once and for all.

The First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament stressed the importance of two points, discussing the situation in Russia with the British: the success of economic reform and overcoming the opposition to the Russian leadership which "torpedoes reform and literally lies down on the tracks to prevent our progress".

Funding Threaten Investigation

LD1002195792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1844 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (TASS)—The work of the investigating teams working on the case of CPSU financial abuses is on the verge of coming to a halt because the necessary financing is not being made available. This was stated at the Russian parliament today by republican Deputy Procurator General Yevgeniy Lisov.

The probe into the case of abuses in the CPSU's financial activities is being carried out by the Procuracy in conjunction with the investigation of the criminal case of conspiracy with intent to seize power (the so-called "SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] case").

According to Yevgeniy Lisov, most investigators dealing with the inquiry have been seconded from republics, krays and oblasts. The expenses they receive are clearly inadequate in a situation when prices have risen sharply. There is a lack of funds to pay for expert services, hiring transportation, communications and office facilities.

Lacking financial resources, the Russian Procuracy has requested the government to allocate the necessary funds for maintaining the investigation teams. But this request has still not been looked into and the Procuracy is not sure that it will be met.

Further Reportage on 7 Feb Proceedings

PM1202105792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observers Olga Burkalev and Robert Minasov report from White House: "Fourth Session of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Deputies Rejected Proposals To Deprive President of Powers Vested in Him by Congress"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] 7 February: It seems that the report by Legislation Committee Chairman Mikhail Mityukov on Russian Federation draft legislative acts split the auditorium into two parts. It is worth listing these bills, as the titles alone tell the reader, if not everything, then a great deal. It was proposed that parliament discuss the following documents: "On the Procedure for Defining the Structures of the Russian Federation Government and Appointing or Dismissing Ministers and Chairmen of Russian Federation State Committees and Departments," "On Amendments and Additions to the Russian Federation Constitution (Fundamental Law)," "On the President of the Russian Federation," and "On the Procedure for Appointing Russian Federation People's Deputies Elected to the

Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to Leadership Posts Within the System of Executive Authority in the Russian Federation."

As Mikhail Mityukov stated, according to the thinking guiding the authors of these documents this entire "bouquet" is aimed at strengthening parliament's authority.

People's Deputy Vladimir Varov spoke somewhat more precisely: "Not only is this an attempt to deprive the president of those powers vested in him by the Congress of People's Deputies, but it is also an effort to undermine executive authority and to explode this authority, thus clearing the way for those who have lost this authority over the last two years."

However, let's get back to the documents. Are they potentially dangerous? Judge for yourselves: "To establish that the Russian Federation president appoints and dismisses deputy chairmen of the Russian Federation Government, ministers, representatives of state committees, and other members of the government, with the consent of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet"—this is from one of the documents. Here is a quotation from another: "RSFSR People's Deputies elected to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet can only be appointed members of the Russian Federation Government, leaders of Russian committees and departments, and other leading posts in the Russian Federation system of executive authority with the consent of the Russian Supreme Soviet."

Substantiating the need to adopt the entire package of proposals, Mikhail Mityukov referred to a recent decision by the Russian Constitutional Court, which annulled the presidential decree on merging the ministries of internal affairs and security. He classed this as an example of the government structures' lack of legal competence which at times allows for the limits of the law to be transgressed. This was followed by a retort from Vladimir Varov: "And don't you think that the fact of these bills' being submitted to parliament and not to the congress is a violation of the Constitution?"

Vladimir Isakov also considered it pointless to submit some of the bills. He declared that the president is sure to use his right of veto, and even if we overcome this the Constitutional Court will deem those bills submitted to be "anticonstitutional." He proposed to limit the discussion to just one draft—"On the Application of Article 92 of the RSFSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)," which states that "persons forming part of the Russian Federation Government cannot be Russian people's deputies, irrespective of the procedure for appointing them."

Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov declared that it is in no way imperative to adopt the entire package today, although in his opinion there are persons within government structures who are very keen to see parliament break down. He stressed that the question of whether we need to return to constitutional norms can be put off no longer. "You yourselves demand this every day. My jacket is wet from the tears..."—and, to a burst of friendly laughter, he concluded his rejoinder. He proposed that two draft laws be discussed at the sitting—"On the Application of Article 92 of the Constitution," and "On Alterations and Amendments to the Constitution."

After a lengthy debate, parliament decided to postpone a discussion of the entire package of bills.

On behalf of the president, Sergey Shakhray presented a draft resolution "On the Procedure for the Examination by the Supreme Soviet of RSFSR Presidential Appeals," according to which the examination of presidential appeals in the Supreme Soviet will henceforth begin with an explanatory speech by the president's official representative and likewise end with his delivering a postdiscussion speech.

This could promote agreement to a significant degree.

Deputy Vladimir Gorelov convincingly proved to Vladimir Zakharov, deputy chairman of the Committee for the Social Development of the Countryside, Agrarian Questions, and Food, that the draft law "On Payment for Land" is not ready and requires further attention. The parliament agreed with him.

Committee Chairman on Military Doctrine, Army

PM1002135592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Colonel Aleksandr Kotenkov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security Questions, by Captain Second Rank V. Urban; place, date not given: "Military Doctrine Must Be a Juridical Document"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] From KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's file: A.A. Kotenkov was born in 1952. He graduated from Rostov-na-Donu Agricultural Machine Building Institute and the Military Political Academy. He was elected a deputy in Birobidzhan, where he served as deputy chief of a unit's political department.

He was secretary of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee. Then he became deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security Questions. His military rank is that of colonel.

[Urban] President B. Yeltsin's statement that we want to change our military doctrine is well known. But your committee, Aleksandr Alekseyevich, as far as I know, has already begun elaborating a military doctrine. Its ideology—let us call it this—can easily be imagined. The former potential enemies are becoming allies. Russia is seeking to eliminate means of mass destruction, and there is now the question of reasonable minimal sufficiency of nuclear and conventional weapons, but such as not to undermine Russia's defense capability and that of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. How will this be enshrined in the doctrine?

[Kotenkov] First of all, about the essence of the document... We were always being misleading when we proclaimed to the whole world our doctrine, its defensive thrust, etc. The thing is that the USSR never had a military doctrine. There was the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Moreover, this doctrine took the form of a set of political slogans... Therefore our chief aim in preparing Russia's first military doctrine is to turn the doctrine from a political document into a juridical one.

[Urban] What is it proposed to set forth in it?

[Kotenkov] Of course, the doctrine has a defense thrust. It must contain the principles and methods of preparing the country for war, the methods and means of waging war (if it arises), the basic principles of organizational development of the armed forces... All in the classic style of any military doctrine. But I will emphasize once again: Our committee proposes to submit the draft document to the Supreme Soviet for approval and to adopt the doctrine in the form of a law, i.e. there will be a law on Russia's military doctrine.

[Urban] So will this law be the first in the package of Russia's military laws?

[Kotenkov] Of course. We began drawing up such a package as you have mentioned and at once encountered the chief question: What, essentially, must these laws be like? We have no basic principles to understand what our army will be like and whether or not there will be a Russian army at all. If there is, then how will it be manned and what will its strength be? We will not get the answer until we straighten out the military doctrine.

[Urban] So work is proceeding in the committee...

[Kotenkov] Maybe that is putting it too grandly: "Work is proceeding." At present we are seeking coordinated approaches to the doctrine. But, you know, if we find our bearings correctly here, it will not take long to formulate the draft.

I will remind you: In the Russian Government and in the presidential structures there are now seven organs responsible to one degree or another for shaping the defense policy and resolving military questions. But no specific person is responsible for these questions. The result is this situation. Parliament is planning to adopt some acts, others are passing through the presidential structures, the government is proposing yet others... There is no integral policy. There is to-ing and fro-ing, obvious mistakes are made, and rash and even dangerous statements are made in the defense sphere. It is time to put an end to all this.

In the next few days we intend to hold a conference to which all the interested sides will be invited in order to decide just what we want. After this, I hope, work on the doctrine will enter the concluding phase.

[Urban] What do you have in mind?

[Kotenkov] On my desk right now there are four versions of the doctrine prepared by various departments but, unfortunately, not one of them accords with the political realities that have taken shape. This is precisely why we plan to accelerate this work. So that we will, I believe, be able to submit the draft to the Supreme Soviet within a month or two.

[Urban] Russia is a CIS state that has not yet announced the creation of its own armed forces. Much will be decided 14 February, when the Commonwealth heads of state will gather in Minsk.

[Kotenkov] Undoubtedly.

[Urban] But what proposals does your committee have already?

[Kotenkov] I wanted to begin in a roundabout way... The key problem of our doctrine really is whether or not there should be Russian Armed Forces. President B. Yeltsin has repeatedly declared that Russia has no intention of creating its own armed forces...

[Urban] But if it does create them, it will at least be after the majority of CIS states have already announced this...

[Kotenkov] Incidentally, we are close to this now. I can name five republics which have officially announced their intention of having their own armies—the Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan. It will only take one more republic, and such members of the CIS will be in the majority.

[Urban] Why do you, Aleksandr Alekseyevich, think Russia is in no hurry to create its own armed forces?

[Kotenkov] For us this delay is fraught with rather negative consequences. But there are deterrents too. I will remind you that more than 50 percent of Armed Forces personnel are Russians, as are more than 70 percent of officers. If Russia now announces the creation of its own armed forces, this will lead automatically to the creation of armies in other former union republics. But the majority of the troops there are Russians, and so an exodus of servicemen to Russian territory could begin. According to the most modest estimates (I am taking only officers, ensigns, and warrant officers), the unplanned one-shot influx of servicemen and members of their families could exceed 1 million people.

[Urban] What follows from this?

[Kotenkov] We must not make sudden movements or rash and irresponsible statements, as certain CIS states permit themselves to do without thinking about the consequences. They do not think of the consequences because they take a simplistic view of many things. It is not their citizens who serve there. They are ready to accept their own fellow citizens, for whom they will be able to provide social protection. In Moldova it is proposed to have an army of something like 15,000 men. But on the territory of Moldova, for example, there is the 14th Army, which is manned mainly by Russians.

[Urban] But these are only social problems. There are quite a few others too.

[Kotenkov] Yes. In addition to social problems, there are also military-political problems.

Let us imagine that Russia announces the creation of its own army... As is well known, the Ukraine has declared its neutrality and is pursuing a clear-cut policy of having no intention of joining any military alliances whatever. Belarus has almost the same policy.

At the same time Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and other republics do not intend to form their own armies now. The problem of the Black Sea Fleet has not been resolved. Sooner or later we will withdraw our troops from Germany and the Baltic states.

If we proceed from our old strategy, which had a western thrust, Russia remains exposed on its northwestern, western, and southwestern salients. For most shock groupings of troops are outside the CIS and also in the Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic region. So it is to our advantage to support a defense alliance in the CIS...

[Urban] Will Russia still not insist on its own army?

[Kotenkov] There are legal questions too. At present the armed forces do not have a state allegiance. It has been clearly stated that the CIS is not a state. So to whom do the Armed Forces of the former Union belong? Juridically, to no one (here I do not mean republic armies).

There are many negative consequences of this. Primarily for servicemen themselves. The Hague and Geneva conventions on the rules for waging wars, on prisoners of war, etc. make provision for particular legal consequences for servicemen of specific states. However deplorable it may be, our servicemen do not come under these conventions now.

Further. The Navy. Under existing international maritime law a ship must belong to a state, and outside its own territorial waters it is the territory of the state in question.

[Urban] Probably we are now approaching the chief point...

[Kotenkov] Before arriving at the creation of joint armed forces, we still have to decide on the troops' state allegiance, and only after this must the process of unification take place. There is no other way out.

As we see, all the present ways to resolve the problems of the armed forces are, in any case, rather painful. Our committee's position is this: The negative aspects that might arise from the systematic, concerted creation of republic armies and then from their unification either according to the NATO pattern or according to the former Warsaw Pact pattern are less painful than the state of suspense and uncertainty in which the Armed Forces of the former Union now find themselves.

[Urban] Are these the committee's recommendations?

[Kotenkov] We will propose this option. What is more, this option is now being studied at various levels. Incidentally, it does not run counter to our president's statements.

But at present we are speaking of general-purpose forces. Although this term grates upon the ears of a military man, it had a difficult birth during the negotiating process among the CIS leaders, and we are obliged to accept the term the way it is.

[Urban] How will this affect the strategic forces?

[Kotenkov] They have exactly the same problem of state allegiance. But, so as not to break the accord that has already been reached on the creation of unified strategic forces, they will remain unified.

Subsequently, as the nuclear arms now sited on the territory of the Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan (it is a more complex matter as regards Kazakhstan) are gradually eliminated, we probably really will be able to arrive at the point where the strategic forces will acquire a single state allegiance—Russian. So we will, I believe, decide on this later, and in any case Russia has no intention of violating the accords that have been reached.

Our approaches fit perfectly within a harmonious scheme: unified strategic forces and joint general-purpose forces consisting of the armed forces of the CIS states.

[Urban] Then what about those states that do not intend to create their own armies?

[Kotenkov] Indeed, what about them?... As you realize, it is a very complex question. But I have talked with some representatives of Central Asia... They do not object in principle to the creation of some kind of regional armed forces here with the participation of the Russian Federation. Coalition troops, let us assume, of three or four republics with Russia's participation. But this is an assumption. Everything must be decided on a treaty basis, for it is very dangerous to decide these questions unilaterally.

[Urban] You have spoken of seven structures which shape defense policy in Russia. But there is no ministry of defense. Do you think one should be set up?

[Kotenkov] It should. The conference that we plan to hold will be the first occasion on which it will be possible to gather everyone together. Hitherto all this has been done in an uncoordinated manner. I believe there will be some kind of breakthrough after our meeting.

Even if we do not soon approach the formation of our own armed forces, we need a ministry of defense all the same. There are now approximately 500,000 servicemen stationed on Russia's territory who do not formally obey

the High Command [Glavkomat] of the CIS Armed Forces. They are the railroad troops, road construction units, civil defense units...

Another point. Something far more important. The elaboration of military policy, participation in resolving CIS defense questions. We—the largest state in the Commonwealth, largely responsible for stability both in the CIS and in the world as a whole—cannot have a considerable influence on CIS defense policy.

Ideally, I would like to see (and this must be conveyed in the military doctrine) a ministry of defense as a political organ... Headed by a well known politician. But this seems to me a remote prospect. Taking into account the situation that has taken shape in the armed forces, when a ministry of defense is set up it should evidently be headed by a military man who, on the one hand, would implement a balanced policy not at odds with the line of the Russian leadership and, on the other, would be accepted by the troops and enjoy their respect. It is my profound conviction that at the first stage the ministry of defense should be created in just this way.

Agenda for 20 Apr Deputies Congress Discussed

LD1102004492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The date for the next Russian Congress of People's Deputies was announced at a meeting of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium today. The congress will open on 20 April.

[Begin correspondent Stepanyuk recording] Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of parliament, and a number of Presidium members expressed their support for the idea that the congress should discuss the progress of economic reform, considering that, at the end of April, sufficient time will have elapsed since prices were liberalized to allow people to consider its initial results in specific terms.

It is planned for the congress to adopt at long last a new constitution for Russia, because the current one, which has been patched repeatedly and which contains many amendments, has long been restricting our democratic development.

The socioeconomic situation of the Russian north obviously will be one of the main issues on the agenda of the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies as well.

The Presidium submitted for ratification by parliament the earlier signed treaties on reducing strategic offensive weapons and conventional armed forces in Europe. The two documents providing for the radical reduction of the most powerful weapons have been prepared for ratification in the United States as well. A decision was adopted to create a parliamentary group for monitoring military and technical cooperation between Russia and foreign countries. A deputies' commission was established to decide how to use the 51 million rubles paid by enterprises and citizens into the foundation for the defense of Russia's sovereignty since the August putsch.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on problems related to the setting up of the St. Petersburg television and radio company, possibly with a view to its future transformation into a joint stock company. The meeting also ratified parliament's work schedule for the current week. [end recording]

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov's Visit to Tyumen Highlighted

OW1102195592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1850 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Excerpts] Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, has concluded the first day of his visit to the Tyumen region, Siberia. He visited the village of Kamenskoye near the city of Tyumen and talked to workers at a motor-assembly plant. He then had a substantial discussion of federal and regional problems with local executives who, in their turn, voiced their suggestions and critical remarks to the Russian Government and parliament.

Khasbulatov stressed the point that he supported the presidential program of reforms, and that "promoting the reform is the only way out today—although that should be done with good reason and care. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov welcomed many suggestions advanced by local leaders, notably that the government should license the sale of oil, gas and timber in coordination with the local authorities, unless it meant to "disregard the interests of the people involved."

As he was speaking with workers, Khasbulatov observed, in relation to Alexander Rutskoy that " a vice-president criticizing a president should tender his resignation."

Views Authority Division

LD1102190492 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Tyumen February 11 TASS— "We are now in bad need of social peace. Only on this condition we shall be able to reduce negative consequences of the economic reform", Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament, who is making tour of the republic, said today at the meeting with workers of the Tyumen engine-building works.

According to his estimates, the main difficulties are still ahead, the three months to come will be especially hard to survive. Many present problems could have been avoided earlier at the stage of working out the strategy of the economic reform. Khasbulatov admitted that the government has chosen the right principled course, but one cannot agree with everything, including some methods, means and stages of implementing the reform.

Khasbulatov paid great attention to the problem of relations between the parliament and the Cabinet of Ministers. He showed reserve in his estimates and denied an assertion that the Supreme Soviet is fighting against the government. "We have the right and it is our duty to criticize the government, but at the same time we should help it find ways to normalize the economic situation and correct the mistakes made in implementing the reform", Khasbulatov stressed. He put part of the responsibility for those mistakes on the parliament, which sometimes takes hasty decisions. The Supreme Soviet made a mistake when "it hurried to give the president its powers to form the government", he pointed out.

The issue of distinct division of authority between the legislative and executive power will be considered at the next Congress of People's Deputies in April. But the main task of this congress must be the adoption of a new constitution of the Russian Federation. Besides, the constitution will help resolve the problem of clear division of functions between central and local authorities, will determine a status of the former autonomies, areas and regions, Khasbulatov said.

The head of the parliament stated he "is extremely anxious about the threat of disintegration of Russia". This threat is fraught with even more dangerous consequences than the further deterioration of the economic situation in Russia, he believes.

Views Local Problems

LD1102191792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet chairman, is on a working tour of Tyumen Oblast. Tyumen greeted Ruslan Khasbulatov with thick frost. The aircraft landed at around 0200 local time and all morning the head of parliament toured the Kamenskiy State Farm, where he had a meeting with workers in the agro-industrial complex and with farmers.

The ancient Russian village of Kamenka was founded in 1623 and is to a considerable extent typical of this region of Siberia. Also typical are the problems which its residents face today in the midst of the reforms that have been launched. Both the state farm and the private farmers are unable to take the pressure from monopoly enterprises producing agricultural equipment. The prices in the shops are exorbitant, although they have been reduced a bit for the visit by the head of the Russian parliament. Anyway, even at high prices, the goods are not there.

These problems were discussed by Ruslan Khasabulatov and the peasants, farmers, and farm managers. The Supreme Soviet chairman emphasized his support for the regions to have maximum independence, whether oblasts, krays, or the republic, in dealing with local social problems. Khasbulatov also supported in this connection the demands from the people of Tyumen that they be given the right to benefit from a certain proportion of the riches of the region. This was the very aim of President Yeltsin's famous decree on Tyumen Oblast, yet this was signed, as you know, in September. This enables this territory to have freely at its disposal 20 percent of the oil and gas recovered there.

This evening Ruslan Khasbulatov is to fly to Surgut, where he will be taking part in the work of a trade union conference on the problems of the north.

Chechen Military Evacuation Reported Delayed

LD1202102392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] An RIA correspondent reports that contrary to widespread reports, no evacuation of servicemen and their families from the Chechen Republic has been carried out or is being carried out, though the appropriate equipment has been made ready. According to information from the press center of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces, no accumulation of people around military cantonments and depots has been noted, though the situation yesterday was less stable. In Groznyy, a rally was held in front of the Council of Ministers' building at which appeals were made for reprisals against servicemen for the events that occurred on the night of 8-9 February. It was reported that six people died then and 18 were injured. Elders and representatives of the clergy managed to restrain participants in the rally from unlawful acts.

Chechen Leaders Able To Prevent 'Bloodshed'

LD1102182192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1552 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] The President of the Chechen Republic Dzhakhar Dudayev says that Republican leadership is strong enough to stabilize the situation and prevent mass bloodshed. Military townlets of the training infantry division jointly with servicemen guard subdivisions of the Chechen Republic's National Guard, OMON [special purpose militia detachment] and Customs Regiment.

PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent learned at the headquarters of self-defense forces of the Chechen People's National Congress that during repelling the attacks at military townlets, there were casualties among Soviet

Army servicemen: one person was killed and two wounded. Your correspondent learned at the training infantry division staff that the fate of Captain Vladimir Vatsenko captured by unidentified persons during the attack at the 15th military townlet on the night of February 8 was still unknown.

The National Guardsmen, who are protecting the 15th military townlet, told your correspondent that a telephone conversation took place between President Dzhakhar Dudayev and Commander of the North-Caucasian Military District in which they touched upon the issue of evacuation of servicemen's families. This information was confirmed by the Government officials adding that Dzhakhar Dudayev still held the opinion that there was no need in evacuation of servicemen's families since the authorities would not let any hostile actions to be taken against them.

On February 10, an address to the peoples of the republic on behalf of the president and parliament was broadcast over local television. The address said that under the guise of saving servicemen's families paratroop landing was being schemed and that Moscow would, possibly, unleash large-scale military actions against Chechen Republic. Citizens of the republic were called to defend its freedom and independence. But, as has become known to PF from informed military sources, only one airplane of military-transport aviation landed in Groznyy on February 10 at the civilian airport and not at the military airfield in Khankal at that. The plane brought a group of officers and generals of the North-Caucasian military district on agreement with republican leadership. They are expected to discuss the situation that formed around the troops and the related issues with Chechen authorities.

President Dzhakhar Dudayev told PF: The conflict with the military was initiated by the forces who are striving to take political revenge and seize power with the help of mafia structures. Investigatory bodies are after the instigators of the disturbances.

Rallies in support of Dzhakhar Dudayev have been going on for several days on end. Rigid demands to introduce order up to applying extreme measures are being voiced.

Rutskoy in Groznyy for General's Funeral

LD1102145392 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 11 Feb 92

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy February 11 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy arrived in Groznyy today to attend the funerals of Air Force Major-General Sulanbek Oskanov who was killed in a plane crash during a training flight.

The general will be buried in the Ingush village of Pliyevo.

Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev is also expected to attend the burial ceremony.

Bashkir, Russian Economic Talks Unproductive

OW1102211692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1850 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The second round of talks over an economic agreement between the governments of the Russian Federation and Bashkortostan has ended, just as the first one did, to zero effect. The negotiating parties failed to agree on two major points—property and budget. The Bashkir Government insists that land with its mineral, water and other natural resources, as well as the entire economic, scientific and technological potential of that republic within the Russian Federation be declared the exclusive property of its people. The Russian Government, for its part, suggests writing down the word "asset" instead of "property".

The Bashkir side accuses Russia of resistance to Bashkortostan's desire "to pursue an independent budget-and-finance policy, taxation included, within the course of Russia's current finance policy."

Bashkir Leader on 'Confrontation' With Moscow

PM1002143792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Interview with Murtaza Rakhimov, Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet chairman, by G. Agisheva; place and date not given: "You Will Greatly Gain By Not Denigrating the Small Peoples"]

[Text] [Agisheva] Murtaza Gubaydullovich, there are rumors that the republic intends to secede from Russia. Plus there is still a certain tension in relations between the former Russian autonomous formations and the new center....

[Rakhimov] We favor a unified Russia. But we also favor the powers of the center and the republic being defined. Therefore last year a draft treaty on the principles of mutual relations was drawn up which defined the competence of the republic, the competence of the center, and joint competence. We have heard no clear response in Moscow.

The greatest divergence in this very important issue concerns property. Under Bashkortostan's constitution, all economic, scientific, and technical potential on its territory, not to mention natural resources, is the property of the multinational people of the republic. This constitutional provision should, in our view, be appropriately reflected in the treaty with the Russian Federation. We maintain the same approach in the question of the budgetary and taxation systems.

The new Russian Federation Constitution will soon be adopted. We see in the draft constitution the same old

articles denigrating the dignity of small peoples and removing the last vestiges of autonomy. The Russian leadership, by denying the peoples of Russia the right to choose, which Russia itself achieved through the disintegration of the former USSR, merely incites us to intensify confrontation.

By last August Bashkortostan was recognized as a founder of and participant in the Union treaty, which, unfortunately, was never signed. The Russian center, reluctant to have us ranked with the Union republics, did everything to curry favor and supported the idea of a multiplicity of different kinds of federal ties. This year, when the Union republics disappeared and we were left alone with the wounded Russian bear, it seemed easier to curb us. Now it is being said that the idea of multiplicity violates statehood. There are things which are bound to cause alarm: On 18 January a conference was held at the Russian Supreme Soviet at which an attempt was made to equate us with krays and oblasts. When our representative drew attention to this, he heard in response that, by concluding a treaty with Chelyabinsk Oblast, we had already put ourselves on a par with the oblast (?!).

[Agisheva] Given a neighbor like Tatarstan, it is clearly impossible to avoid comparisons. Some people think that its prosperity is based on petroleum, which the Bashkirs cannot sell, can they?

[Murtaza] We have a single economic area, and we sell as much petroleum as they do! We also pump it by pipeline to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. But only with Russia's permission. This year we received a 3.332 million tonne quota for the sale of petroleum and petroleum products, which represents 15 percent. That is a first! To solve the problems we need at least 30 percent. Yeltsin, Burbulis, and Gaydar seem to support us and make decisions—to issue a decree and pass a resolution allowing the republic to retain 30 percent. But the resolution gets as far as the clerks and then hits a brick wall. Below Gaydar matters do not move, and we go to Moscow time and time again with outstretched hand. In the former USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity the oil producers' foreign currency accounts have been frozen, and they have been forced to reduce petroleum extraction: There is a shortage of casings, and wells are standing idle. We have virtually returned to barter exchange: petroleum products for food.

[Agisheva] A question which appeared in the form of verse as the caption to a cartoon in a local newspaper: "...prices make your eyes pop, the great fast is approaching, so what are we going to do, Murtaza? To avoid such misfortunes we need sovereignty."

[Murtaza] It is essential that everyone—the whole people—struggle to achieve sovereignty.

Sobchak Denies Aid Embezzlement Rumors

LD0902164692 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 9 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels February 9 ITAR-TASS—Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak of St. Petersburg described as provocative the rumours about embezzlement of humanitarian aid being given to Russia by the European Community.

Speaking at a news conference here on Saturday [8 February], Sobchak said those rumours "are being inspired by former communist press media and national-patriotic organisations of fascistic trend that would like to frustrate the rendering of aid and thereby aggravate the economic and social situation still further".

He emphasised that from the very outset the distribution of aid supplies had been monitored by a group of representatives from the Commission of the European Communities (CEC).

Although aid supplies began to reach the city with a certain delay owing to protracted arguments over its scope, the 4,000 tonnes of meat received at the end of January made it possible to considerably reduce social tension and stabilise the situation in the city, Sobchak said.

Prior to that, St. Petersburg had practically received no meat for one month and a half and the city authorities had to put on sale canned meat from strategic stocks, he added.

Sobchak expressed satisfaction with the results of his talks with the leaders of the Europarliament and the CEC on matters connected with the delivery of food by EC countries to St. Petersburg.

St. Petersburg Workers Picket Mayor's Office

LD1002142192 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Utyanskiy]

[Text] St. Petersburg February 10 TASS—St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak had to spend an hour and a half in the street on Monday [10 February] as workers of several city plants blocked the mayor's office in Smolnyy, protesting against the mayor's decision to occupy premises in Smolnyy rented by the newspaper NARODNAYA PRAVDA.

The picketers also criticised the mayor's office for its attempts to ban newspaper's publications against city officials.

After talks with picketers, the city authorities decided to cancel their decision.

Vladivostok Residents Protest Reform Policy

LD0902042692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Vladivostok residents, armed with placards and banners condemning the Russian Government's

economic reform policy, gathered today by the offices of the Maritime area administration. The rally was organized by the Vladivostok workers' councils, the town organizations of the Russian Communist Party and of the Union of Communists of the Maritime area. [passage omitted]

Krasnoyarsk Rally Protests Government Posts

LD0902112892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0626 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, 9 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Calls not to give support to the Russian Government were voiced at a rally held in Krasnoyarsk (Central Siberia) organized today on the initiative of the kray organizations of the Socialist Workers' Party and the Russian Popular Alliance. Slogans directed against the introduction of the posts of a governor and town mayors were also put forward. The truth is that there were more people present at the meeting out of curiosity than real participants.

Socialist Labor Party Holds First Conference

LD0802212492 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 8 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Cherepanov]

[Text] Kurgan February 8 ITAR-TASS—Yet another party lays claim to the ideological and, partially, material legacy of the Soviet Communist Party. This was proclaimed at the first conference of the regional organisation of the Socialist Party of Labour here today.

Vladimir Okhokhonin, member of the Federal Council of the new political organisation, told ITAR-TASS that the main task of the party is to bring the country back on the track of the socialist way of development by using peaceful means and relying on the backing of broad popular masses.

Participants in the conference mapped out a programme of action and elected the party's leading bodies.

OMON Carries Out 'Pogrom' in Novy Urengoy

LD0902184892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1602 GMT 9 Feb 92

[From the "Accidents" section: "OMON [special purpose militia units] Carried Out Pogrom in Novy Urengoy"]

[Text] Novy Urengoy—On February 8 local OMON (militia's special purpose units) unit carried out pogrom at the city market place in Novy Urengoy. Eyewitnesses report that a number of OMON servicemen arrived at the market place, announced their arrival by shooting in the air, went through the rows of stalls, tradesmen's bags, confiscated and broke bottles with vodka and other alcoholic drinks which were sold at 250 rubles a bottle. A man who expressed some doubt about the legality of the action was severely beaten.

A few hours later OMON carried out another attack on the market place, though this time without shooting. Whether the action was sanctioned by local authorities was impossible to find out, because Saturday [8 February] and Sunday [9 February] were days off.

The local OMON unit was been transferred to the Tyumen region from Riga some time ago. Its former Deputy Commander Sergey Parfenov has been arrested by Latvian authorities and is currently held in custody in independent Latvia.

International Affairs

Diplomat Rejects Russia as USSR Successor

OW1202142692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An official of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry has said his republic cannot accept Russia's "unilateral" efforts to be the "continuity state" and legal successor of the former Soviet Union. He told IF [INTERFAX] over the phone that Ukraine had spelt out its stand on the matter in the note it sent to Moscow on January 24. Ukraine maintains that all the states that existed on the territory of the ex-USSR are equally entitled under international law to claim the status of that country's legal successor.

The Ukrainian diplomat stressed the point that his republic did not question Russia's right to replace the former USSR in the UN Security Council. As far as the ex-Soviet Union's foreign property was concerned, the diplomat said it was "a matter requiring concerted actions and coordinated decisions." He said that the issue could be discussed at the forthcoming CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] summit in Minsk, where bilateral meetings are planned between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk and between Foreign Ministers Andrey Kozyrev and Anatoliy Zlenko.

The diplomat expressed regret that Russia had left the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's official note unanswered.

When IF's correspondent turned to the Russian Foreign Ministry for explanations, he was told that all such matters, including the division of the ex-USSR's property abroad, would be decided at the CIS level. Specifically, they would be discussed by experts in Minsk.

Commentary Questions Diplomatic Tactics

LD1002231992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Commentary by Andrey Krasnov]

[Text] According to a report by the KHARKOV NOVOSTI News Agency, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry has sent the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs a note. It stresses that no single state has a right to unilaterally declare itself the legal successor to the former USSR.

This is how Andrey Krasnov, my colleague, comments on this event:

[Begin Krasnov recording] It is difficult to call the Ukraine's present diplomatic demarche unexpected. Of late, Kiev embarked on a real offensive on the domestic political front, stressing its independence from Moscow in every possible way. Leonid Kravchuk lets not a single occasion slip by to put the Russian leadership on the spot. Accusing Moscow of imperial ambitions has almost become a refrain of his numerous public speeches. It is interesting that the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's note has appeared precisely on the eve of the meeting of the heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] member states, scheduled to be held in Minsk on 14 February.

Evidently this is no coincidence. It is known that military and political issues will be discussed in the Belarussian capital, the Army's fate above all. It is precisely with regard to this problem that Kiev's position is different. The recent nationalization of three military okrugs and the frenzied battle around the Black Sea Fleet have shown something that is rather sad: The Ukraine regards the Army not as an instrument of national security, but as a bargaining chip. Questioning Russia's rights, Kiev is endeavouring to artificially enhance its own influence.

This is a kind of logic that is taken from everyday life: I am asking you for 100 rubles so that you may eventually give me 10 rubles. The matter does not, however, revolve round the Russian-Ukrainian dispute on military issues alone. In my view, the Ukraine's current diplomatic action also has a foreign policy aspect. It looks like Leonid Kravchuk no longer believes in the CIS' [Commonwealth of Independent States'] future. Visiting the FRG last week, he stated that the Commonwealth has yet to prove its viability.

Under these conditions, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's note looks like some kind of insurance, lest the Minsk meeting fail. It is as though Kiev is letting it be understood for the benefit of the international community that the Ukraine is just as much a subject of international relations as Russia.

Ukrainian leaders are playing a sensitive diplomatic game, striving to ensure maximally advantageous positions for their republic. The danger of taking the game too far exist, though. Whether Kravchuk likes it or not, Russia has already been internationally recognized as the former USSR's legal successor. Let those who deny this cast the first stone in my direction. [end recording]

National Affairs

Kravchuk Interviewed on Presidential Role

LD1102205492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1839 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by correspondent Urmas Ott; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ott] Mr. Kravchuk, I read somewhere that in recent times you have not been too willing to give interviews in Russian. What is the reason for this, how would you explain it?

[Kravchuk] I do not think that is actually true. I give interviews in Russian and in Ukrainian; it depends on what sort of interview is being given and to whom, and we do not have this sort of distinction.

[Ott] Mr. Kravchuk, there always used to be court journalists connected with the nomenklatura and the former times—and some people say they still exist today, too. In Kiev, do you have your own people in television and in the press on whom you can rely with complete confidence?

[Kravchuk] You know, during the presidential campaign, I had a group of journalists—television journalists and representatives of the press, I mean the newspapers—who were with me constantly during my tour. That is, the presidential campaign went on for two months and I toured all the oblasts of the Ukraine. Therefore, there was such a group of people. But I do not have any court journalists who meet only with the president, say, and who alone set out his point of view. I believe that this is unnecessary. If this happens, then only one point of view will be given or, I would put it this way, the point of view which is most to the liking of the president because they precisely catch the nuance of what pleases or displeases. And naturally, since they are court journalists they will write what pleases. I do not support this.

[Ott] But Mr. Kravchuk, in principle you are familiar with this scheme of things because you have worked in the top spheres of ideology in the Ukraine since 1980—I mean at the level of the Central Committee. In principle, such a group, such court journalists existed at that time and probably still exist now.

[Kravchuk] I would like to say yes, all the journalists were court journalists. At any rate those who wrote were court journalists because any different point of view simply did not get through. It could not be made public. That is, in my heart I saw—and now, after glasnost, I see—how quickly the new way of thinking, the new formulations, the new views have been adopted by the journalists who for ten years or five years wrote something quite different. This is not just mimicry taking place or people adapting to reality. This was already within them, in their hearts, in their thoughts. And now things have opened up and it has come out. But everyone used to write what they were ordered to write.

Articles or books that became the center of attention or the object of debate at the Secretariat or the Politburo of the Central Committee were a rare exception.

[Ott] As I understand it, Mr. Kravchuk, it was fairly often you who placed the order?

[Kravchuk] That may have been so, although if we are to talk in overall terms, then it was the Ideology Department, and I was head of the Ideology Department until 1989. The department did not create policy. Very often, when journalists talked to me, they represented me as chief ideologist of the Ukraine.

[Ott] And wasn't that the case?

[Kravchuk] No, it wasn't. In fact, the chief ideologist of the Ukraine was the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the secretary responsible for ideology. I was secretary for matters of ideology for less than a year, from October 1989 to May 1990.

[Ott] Yes, but what a year!

[Kravchuk] What a year indeed! It was a very complicated year in which everything was reinterpreted, everything was perceived differently, and we had to reject a great many stereotypes and conceptions, and not because the times had changed but simply because we gained a vast amount of information which we did not previously have.

[Ott] And what can you say in general about your relations with Comrade Shcherbitskiy? And a second question, the people say, even here in Kiev, that Comrade Shcherbitskiy actually committed suicide? What really happened?

[Kravchuk] Vladimir Vasiliyevich saw that I was someone who could write things, formulate things, and he valued people who both had their own opinion and could formulate things. I was not one of the favorites, let us say, one of those who had his [Shcherbitskiy's] favor. No, I was not one of those. Vladimir Vasiliyevich was aware that I was able to state my own opinion anywhere, even at the Politburo, although this was not always to his liking, perhaps. But he valued potential. So I cannot say that he was particularly well-disposed or ill-disposed toward me. He behaved properly toward me. Although I know that I was put forward earlier for the office of Central Committee secretary...

[Ott interrupts] For ideology?

[Kravchuk] ...for ideology, and he turned it down. I do know that. So he saw some kind of—perhaps not so much danger as some kind of potential at that level of objection. Basically, in later years, he could not stand objections.

He surrounded himself with people who brought the information that he was meant to have. That is how it was. In other words, I knew those people. Even my information did not reach him directly. It was supposed to pass through certain offices and to be presented in a package which he liked.

[Ott] Now for the second question.

[Kravchuk] Forgive me: regarding suicide, that is not true. He was very ill in his last years and his death really was caused by the illness. There are no other interpretations there.

[Ott] You spent 30 years, more than half your life, in party work, beginning in 1960. Do you regret now that you probably wasted so many years, from today's point of view?

[Kravchuk] I never agree with judging those years very quickly. It was 30 years, as you correctly said. Every person in the party is an individual. My advantage—let me begin with the advantage—is that I always dealt with people. When I started working at the political education center in Chernovtsy, I travelled and addressed meetings as a lecturer. I was always on the receiving end of questions and information, and I saw and sensed in those questions that everything was not as smooth or as simple as it was presented in PRAVDA, say, or other newspapers.

[Ott] You mean, you realized what was actually happening?

[Kravchuk] Not fully, but I sensed that the people, as a mass, had a different point of view too, and that was confirmed after 1985, because if the people did not have that view, if it had not ripened, as they say—it was not in a finished form, or in finished formulations, and there was no completeness, yet it did exist. And I, for example, cannot say that I gained nothing for myself in those years. I gained my approach itself, my desire to deal with people, my desire always to talk to them, to speak in discussions and to listen to people. It was during those years that I learned how to listen to people. I listen to people at the Supreme Soviet and everywhere. I have enough patience to listen to everybody and to be patient even if it is unpleasant for me.

[Ott] So, as I understand it, Mr. Kravchuk, you do not feel deceived by the Communist Party at all?

[Kravchuk] I cannot agree with that. We all were deceived—and you know why? I said already at the beginning that even in my capacity of department head, I was not receiving the information I was supposed to receive. Since we were getting information in doses, since the archives of information were closed to us both in the historical and factual aspect... [changes thought] Now, for instance, we in the Ukraine are publishing books by Rushevskiy, Vinnichenko, Dragomanov, we are reading Stus, we are reading writers, historians, and philosophers who we did not read at the time. Moreover, we used to get only positive information. Even negative facts which used to take place—yes, there were such cases but those were negative facts pertaining to individual oblasts, collectives, or persons who held positions there. But a negative attitude to socialism in general, to the state system in general, could not pass, in fact. And therefore such information bred a corresponding way of thinking. That is, we were deceived by the absence of correct information.

[Ott] If you were given the opportunity now to renounce your party bolshevik past, would you do this or would you leave everything as it was?

[Kravchuk] You know, if I had the information at that time that I have today, naturally I would not have done it because I can see the anatomy of that society and the processes that took place. For example, it was only three years ago that I knew the real truth about the famine in Ukraine. Before that, we were told, it was proved to us in documentaries, that it was a natural famine because of poor harvests, and so on. So, I repeat, if I had had the mass of information that I have today and in which the Communist Party had a direct hand—it organized that sort of thing—of course I would never have taken the Communist Party road. But if I did not have this information, it is difficult to say what would have taken place.

[Ott] Mr. Kravchuk, you are one of the initiators and creators of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Can you tell me please, now that we can talk about it, whose idea this really was—yours or Yeltsin's?

[Kravchuk] Well, I shall tell you about the anatomy of this question. Let us put it this way: When Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev proposed the new treaty after the putsch and the Novo-Ogarevo process resumed, I did not take part in this process after the putsch. In other words, I did not take part in the process of recreation of the new Union treaty. The last meeting in Novo-Ogarevo—all the representatives of the states turned up there, and each had his say. Each of them said almost the same thing: There shall be the Union. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said this too. Thus, all the participants in this process were in support of the Union, without exeption. And all this was demonstrated to the people. But this whole process was made dependent on the position taken by Ukraine. And the same Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and others there were saying that they could not see a Union without Ukraine in it. And when Ukraine voted for independence at the referendum on 1 December, it became clear that there would be no Union. And when we came to Belarus—this was on the Ukraine's initiative...

[Ott interrupts] This was your initiative?

[Kravchuk] I shall put it this way: It was the Ukraine's initiative to meet in Belarus.

[Ott] Oh, is that how it turns out to be?

[Kravchuk] There you are, and we were preparing this meeting for a long time. We had certain ideas. I expressed them on several occassions—that the Ukraine would not join the Union. I said this during the election campaign. The Ukraine could join a commonwealth of the European type. And so I was expressing this point of view everywhere and before the journalists. And when we met in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin honestly put three questions to me on behalf of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: Will the Ukraine sign the text of the existing treaty? I said no. I repeat, he did not ask this question on his own behalf, but on behalf of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with whom he had a special several hours-long meeting the day before. The

second question: Will the Ukraine sign the text of the treaty if it is allowed to introduce some changes to the text? I said no. And the third question: Will it sign the treaty if it can offer its own variant of the Union treaty? I said that if Ukraine were to offer its own variant, this would be not a confederative state but something else—a commonwealth of states. Therefore, this cannot be taken even as a basis. If the question is being put this way, then we should be looking for a different approach. And then we found the approach which was registered in Belovezhskaya Pushcha.

That is to say, in this particular case I have no wish to take on myself this mission that it was me, the Ukraine that created the new Commonwealth. No. But the logic of history and the position of the Ukraine played the decisive role here, that is true. Delivering my New Year greetings message I thanked the Ukrainian people for the fact that it was precisely the Ukraine that altered the course of history toward the end of the twentieth century—that is to say, it destroyed the empire. In this, I want to say that this is true."

[Ott] Thank you for that. Have you and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin discussed the question of what is going to happen to President Gorbachev in the new conditions? Or is it really true, as you say in the press, that this question was not discussed at all?

[Kravchuk] We began to discuss it in Alma-Ata. At that time in Minsk—I beg your pardon, in Belovezhskaya Pushcha—we did not discuss it because we had no time for that. It was necessary for us to compile this document over as short a time as possible, because it was clear to us that the attention of the whole world was focused on what was happening in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, where the leaders of three Slavic states met. To depart from there without any statement, declaration, or any sort of document would have been tantamount to resurrecting the conservative forces, forces whose leanings were toward the affirmation of the good old Union, if you will pardon the expression, of the Soviet Socialist States and to give them such an opportunity... [changes thought] Time passes so quickly that we could have lost the initiative then. The initiative could have passed to those forces, the centrist ones. We had to do that. That is why we worked day and night there, in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, the consultants, the experts—we had to produce that document. The problem of Gorbachev was not discussed then. It began to be discussed before the Alma-Ata meeting. Boris Nikolayevich was there and we discussed in a principled manner one important question—that at long last we should become civilized people and not denigrate those who were departing, because the whole of our history so far had been to stigmatize those who had departed. This issue was often raised in the foreign media. If all departed leaders are in the end appraised as weak, dull-witted—let us say it openly—as stupid politicians, then the question arises: What sort of people is it that allows itself to be ruled by idiots?

[Ott] It turns out to be the Soviet people.

[Kravchuk] You see what an interesting turn of thought we have. So, if all our history is like that, that means the people have not reached the level at which they can elect for themselves a worthy leader. So we decided in principle that a new era was beginning in relation to leaders, those in office and those leaving office, a civilized era. This means a person must be treated properly and protected properly, he must be given the possibility of now living and working in a new role.

[Ott] So you would not find any office for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the new structures?

[Kravchuk] The fact is, there are no new structures. Our principle is that all the states forming part of the Commonwealth are independent states. Only working provisional structures are being created for organizational and technical problems, for working out the organizational and technical problems. That is all. So there is no such office. The only exception here is for the army, on which we have made the decision that the military strategic forces should be under a single command. That is the exception. But for all the rest, each state independently solves its own internal and foreign problems and no state can encroach on the interests of another.

[Ott] Some of your opponents think that this so-called Commonwealth was simply needed by Kravchuk and Yeltsin to get rid of the old Union and to get rid of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev personally.

[Kravchuk] You know, when we met and worked together, believe me—I cannot speak for anyone else, but for myself I will say that I did not have any thought of getting rid of anyone. I had one thought: to insure independence for the Ukraine, to destroy that empire which had historically, for centuries, oppressed my people, and which would not let that people live freely and democratically build its own life by the laws of its own state.

[Ott] And at the same time, in order to go down in history?

[Kravchuk] I did not think about that, either. Although I absolutely agree with you that such historical things that have been done and that are being done today will be historic. They will go down in history. But today, when one is busy resolving a pile of current problems, today they appear as current problems and tomorrow they will appear as historical ones.

Setting up the Ukraine's Armed Forces is a current problem for me at the moment. For me, it is a current problem. But I am absolutely convinced that the creation of the Ukraine's Armed Forces—to have such an attribute of power, such an institution of power as armed forces for the first time in history—this is an action on a historical scale and it will go down in history. And naturally, those people who are involved in this will also be recorded in history. Although, naturally, no one has this end in view. That is, you do not start off with the

idea of becoming historic, but you start off with the idea of doing something, and then that is how it turns out.

[Ott] But I understand, judging from the latest events—the Black Sea fleet, your Ukrainian Army, and so on—you are smiling, but it seems to me that your smile and your actions here in Kiev and the Ukraine cause Mr. Yeltsin many major unpleasantnesses and, as I understand it, recently one has observed a kind of confrontation between Kravchuk and Yeltsin.

[Kravchuk] If you had said they bring unpleasantnesses to all states of the Commonwealth, I would have more respect for that question. But since you lay the accent on Yeltsin, this indicates that the personage of Yeltsin is the key one and the person of Yeltsin should dictate conditions to all states of the Commonwealth. If we accept that from the start, then you can consider that there is no Commonwealth—that is, it was born but was not fated to exist for long.

It can live, exist, and work under one basic principle: that all are equal, all have equal rights, and no one dictates to anyone and no one imposes his own point of view on anyone else.

When they say to me that all four fleets should be Russian, I wonder: if they said that all four fleets should be the fleets of the Commonwealth, I accept that, but when they say they should be Russian, I no longer accept it. It would seem that all the rest had done nothing for 70 years of Soviet power in order to create these fleets. For example, we in the Ukraine have three major shipbuilding works. Well then, did we not create anything? One cannot adopt such an appoach. I want one single principle: If Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] or Leonid Makarovich [Kravchuk] or anyone else some day comes to the conclusion that he can make decisions for the others, this is the beginning of the end. I am often told that we have mutual relations with Russia but I say that we have not had mutual relations with Russia. There were mutual relations with Russia up until 1654 when [Ukrainian leader] Bogdan Khmelnitskiy met with Buturlin [Russian diplomat through whom the Ukrainians swore allegiance to Russia] and when he proposed coming under the wing of Russia. Since then...

[Ott interrupts] In short, he sold out the Ukraine.

[Kravchuk] ...under the wing of Russia. Since then, we have had no mutual relations.

There is a concept of the Ukraine as being a part of Russia. When I went abroad and represented the Ukraine, I was asked questions at a very high level about it being a part of Russia. When statesmen go so far as to assert that Kharkov was given to the Ukraine to beef up its proletarian workforce during the revolution and when references are made to the Malaya Rossiya, or the selfsame Kharkov, then you again get a situation in which the Ukraine ceases to exist. But as soon as the Ukraine raised itself up from its knees, as it were, it was again said that borders had to be looked into. You understand that then we go through this most dangerous psychological turning point, beyond which lies subordination—the empire and its outskirts. And that is why, you know, our relations with Russia began in 1990 when here, in Kiev, we signed a political treaty with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Our relations are a year old. And during the year, the Ukraine has tried to assert its rights.

I am not saying that the Ukraine is always right. Believe me, I am far from saying that we are acting absolutely correctly and never allow mistakes to be made. But we asserted our rights, our right to be the master in our own land; our right to have institutions of power; our right to have institutions of our own, Ukrainian institutions of power. And as soon as we said it, you see what the reaction is, and that includes the mass media. I do not know whether you were correct when you said that all of them are at it now, but in each, in each broadcast there is something negative about the Ukraine. This is how the desire to become a state is being received, it is in this way that the people's desire to be the master in their own land is being received and one has to go through it.

My view is that here, in the Ukraine, as well as in other republics, we must assess the situation very calmly and refrain from making hasty decisions. But the Russians—and this includes the Russian politicans—must cross this most difficult psychological barrier, that they are equals among equals. If they fail to cross it, relations will become more and more difficult all the time.

[Ott] O.K., I understand. But tell me, there is some kind of confrontation with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, isn't there?

[Kravchuk] No. We have very good relations with Boris Nikolayevich based on principle.

[Ott] Are you on familiar terms or not?

[Kravchuk] We are not on familiar terms, but I cannot accept, say, some decision by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin which he adopts on behalf of the whole Commonwealth without prior consultation with the Commonwealth's heads.

[Ott] Can Yeltsin save Russia, in your opinion?

[Kravchuk] Let the Russians think about that. It is more important to me to save the Ukraine without doing Russia any harm, or Moldova, or Belarus. That is my task today in the Ukraine. Russia, I think, has the same task. If we both adopt this approach, being nice to one another, not harming one another, and not dealing with our tasks at others' expense, we will reach agreement on everything.

[Ott] And now Mr. Kravchuk, what did you give your wife as a New Year's present?

[Kravchuk] Not only my wife. I have a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law. Then there is my daughter-in-law's mother, my granddaughter Mariyka, my grandson Andrey, and this year, like last year, I played Santa

Claus. And theatrically, too! I asked my comrades and they found me a Santa Claus costume: a robe, a hat, a beard, a sack of presents. And I gave everyone a present, at the table. Last time my granddaughter was two and she recognized me immediately although she didn't tell anyone. This year she was a bit scared. I picked her up and held her. She sat there, then she looked at me and then went off somewhere. Later she kept asking me: I think it was you. Was it? [laughter] And I gave everyone their presents. It is the second year that we have done this, just something nice for them. As for the presents, there was perfume for the women, something for my son, something for everyone.

[Ott] Kiev is a soccer city. Although, as I understand it, they have not been playing too well recently. What is your attitude to soccer? Do you support a team? What is your attitude to soccer, and are you a fan of your team, the Kiev Dinamo?

[Kravchuk] When I was department head at the Central Committee, the department was in charge of soccer, that is, of sports; that is, I supervised sports. Therefore, I had direct contacts with the soccer team. Since our top leaders, including Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, who was a great fan—I won't make any bones about it, he was interested not only in the game itself but in the technology of playing, the scheme and technique of the game, too. That is, he was the kind of fan who not only watches but also analyzes, reads, and has views of his own. And you know how that was at the time? If Leonid Ilich Brezhnev put on a blue suit, everyone put on blue suits. [laughter] Such was the practice of the day. And when the first secretary of the Central Committee was a fan, then everybody else was a fan, too. I had to deal with the team very seriously.

And what did it mean to deal with the team then? It was a very serious thing. First, it was remuneration. What an individual used to get at work and what he used to get overall was not the same. Then it was providing the most necessary things, including finding jobs for wives, hiring players, transferring a player from one team to another team. That is, I knew the technology of this club, was on very good terms with chief coach Lobanovskiy.

[Ott] Has he [Lobanovskiy] gone abroad now?

[Kravchuk] Well, frankly speaking, I have now drifted away from dealing directly with the team, but I watch and get excited, as usual, but I do not regard myself as a great fan. That is, I have the same attitude, say, I get equal pleasure from watching soccer and basketball. That is, I have no special attitude to soccer, although I like it, naturally.

[Ott] You have been in the post of president of the Ukraine for about a month and a half and you have five years ahead. Have you already managed to pick your team to solve the problems that the Ukraine is facing now?

[Kravchuk] No, I have not done so for the time being. There are two important circumstances here. You know, when our Supreme Soviet was adopting a decision on the president, at that time—it was the July before the putsch—various forces acted in different ways. Many people wanted to have a president but like one out of an operetta, who would not have much power. Others wanted to invest the president with more power, but not enough to allow him to do anything. And all that was reflected in the documents adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Here I have a Constituton today, the latest version; and here, if you open the chapter on the president and other chapters, you will find a lot of restrictions which are unnatural for a president. For example, I have now a list of people whom I could appoint immediately; but I cannot because the Supreme Soviet must solve this problem. I could issue a number of decrees today on destatization, privatization, free formation of prices, and other things. I cannot do this because this is within the Supreme Soviet's competence. That is, at the current stage, the Supreme Soviet has created so many restrictions and barriers for the president that he is unable to work.

At the last session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet we agreed that at the next session, as soon as it opens, I would submit an entire package of documents which is intended to provide the precise delimitations of executive, legislative, and judicial power. Otherwise, the actions of the president will be restricted.

[Ott] All presidents say that they do not have enough power and they all demand that they should have a little more power. That is in their nature.

[Kravchuk] That is not my opinion. I think the opposite. I say that there is always enough power if you have the support of the people. You can have a great deal of power and issue the most diverse decrees, but if the people don't support you, they will have no strength. I am speaking of something else, of being able to issue a decree, which is something completely different. I do not have that capability. If I issue a decree today which I consider necessary, it will be contrary to the Ukrainian Constitution, but here [Kravchuk begins to read from a pamphlet]—I am simply very keen to be correctly understood—I am not appealing for help, but there is the following clause here: In the event that the president violates the Constitution and the laws of the Ukraine, the president may be removed from his post by the Supreme Soviet. In other words, if I issue decrees today which are extremely necessary for the Ukraine—I am aware that they are, but the Constitution has not given me the channels to issue those decrees. Thus, I would be contradicting the Supreme Soviet, but I want to work with the Supreme Soviet and to have good relations with it.

[Ott] Mr. Kravchuk, do you think the people support you?

[Kravchuk] I cannot speak for all the people. It is hard to say that, but I think the 20 million electors who voted for me support me since they voted for me. They were 62 percent of those who turned out to vote and 52 percent of the entire adult population. In other words, I received more than half of the entire adult population; we can speak of the majority of the people, in this case. I cannot say that everybody supports me, but there is one important factor. Rukh in the Ukraine is the organization with which I started very serious discussions...

[Ott interrupts] Where it seems all this began.

[Kravchuk] Correct. In other words, I would say I tested my new views there and I met with purely intellectual opposition from Rukh. In the first stage, Rukh was the creative intelligentsia. They were very educated people, and I had to appear with them live on the air. That required a certain amount of preparation. I was aware of all that. It was not simply a reflection of some minor processes, but profound, philosophical views of problems, policy, and life. And the Rukh movement, with which I entered into discussions, concluded in its statements that it would support the president of the Ukraine and his actions to set up an independent Ukraine and to effect the democratic and radical changes that should be taking place in our country as a power.

[Ott] Mr. Kravchuk, do you have on your conscience—yours has been a full life—any actions that you are ashamed of and feel bad about today?

[Kravchuk] Naturally I do, naturally I do. I understood, say even in this nonkey role that I played, say, in the Central Committee, that with a more precise and a more principled approach, I could have contributed more positively to the life of the Ukraine than was the case, and my judgment is an objective one. Take this euphoria of eulogizing people, this undeserved eulogizing of the general secretary, Leonid Ilich [Brezhnev], Chernenko, and others—it is clear that we saw what we saw on the screen. It was not a case like with Iosif Vissarionovich [Stalin], who was hidden from people and you could spin any yarn about him. These people were right in front of us. We saw their eyes, we saw the intellect that usually shines through a man's eyes, provided he has intellect, and we sinned in the face of our conscience when we called these people geniuses, great politicians, unsurpassed thinkers—and I am involved in this as an ideologist. Well, I did not deliver these speeches, but I had a hand in preparing them. Well, I could not do otherwise, perhaps I lacked the courage to say this.

I should have said, using some venue or other, that this did not correspond to the truth to quite the extent to which we would have it in our written speeches—and I am saying it now. But this is by way of an example and I could give many such examples and in our appraisal—although, you see, any actions at that time bordered on being removed from power, on being removed from work—if you crossed a line that posed a danger to the leadership or to the system, you were removed forthwith. Even if you were suspected of something, of having an inconsistent viewpoint, you were sidelined. I mean, you were working, but you were no longer provided with information. You were being permanently kept at arm's length. You were being shown in every way that you had crossed the line, one way or the other.

[Ott] Mr. Kravchuk, you believe that people change. You now champion an ideology that is completely opposed to what you supported 10 years ago. Do you believe that people really do change, that you are now in completely new circumstances, and is your wish for a free and independent Ukraine sincere?

[Kravchuk] The point is that people do not only change under the influence of information but depending on their age. At 30, even with all the information I have today, I would not have been the person I am at 57. I have experience. Historically and in what we have lived through, our way of thinking and our nerves are those of previous generations. We do not see with our own eyes alone but with those of the people we have seen and reworked in our own consciousness and psyche. Of course, this changes people. But the most important thing happens to a person when he gains a mass of objective information. I stress this and believe it most important for the individual. If he has information which has had no prior treatment, in its original form, he will make a precise choice. It may be right or wrong but it will be based on factual information.

Under the influence of what has happened to us, the influence is primarily openness of information. I say it again. We have had so much information, so many historical facts that have turned human consciousness upside down. They turned my concepts and thinking upside down. And today, with the pressure of circumstances and life, there really is a great aim. I have one great aim. I am not saying that in our generation we can create a complete and mighty Ukrainian power; rather the great aim lies in creating, in laying the foundations of statehood so that the people have a state of their own, their own native state, be it bad, good, sensible...

[Ott interrupts] But their own.

[Kravchuk continues] Their own. It can make mistakes, develop its own policies, it will still protect its own people. When a people has its own state, it cannot fail to protect them. And any state outside that people, however humanitarian or just, will look on that people from outside. It will not share their life. It is just such a state that would build a Chernobyl Atomic Energy Station near Kiev. It is just such a state that would warp and distort the consciousness, life, and land of that people. A state of their own might make mistakes, yes, but it would not do so deliberately because the state and its leaders would see its own people before it. Not Ukrainians but all the people living on our land, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Poles, Hungarians, everyone. They are all our people.

[Ott] You know, Mr. Kravchuk, before our meeting today I thought of you as a dark horse. I did not know what to make of you. Now we have been talking for virtually an hour and a half. You have succeeded very well in presenting yourself in the way you wanted, but even after this long conversation I have not managed to understand you exactly. [both men chuckle]

[Kravchuk] Evidently there is a piece of raw truth in this: if you had understood me thoroughly, then our meeting would not have achieved its aim. In that case, I would be so straightforward and simple that I could be understood in an hour and a half.

[Ott] So, I give in. It was very pleasant for me to make your acquaintance. I wish you all the best and I very much hope that the best times are still ahead.

[Kravchuk] Thank you for the meeting. I was very pleased to meet you and to talk with you. I very much enjoyed it.

[Ott] Thank you.

Kravchuk Interviewed on Economy, Russia

PM1102160892 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk by correspondent Mikhail Odinets under the rubric "A President Speaks"; date, place not given: "Hour of Trials"]

[Text] Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk was born to a peasant family in the Rovno area. His father was killed at the front, his mother worked on a kolkhoz. By education he is an economist, a candidate of sciences. He is a graduate of Kiev University and the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow. Many people testify that he has a great fund of knowledge and is a master of the art of polemics and a subtle analyst. He likes being in contact with people. Meetings, disputes, discussions—that is his element. In the most complex, entangled situations he seeks to untie the "Gordian knot" through talks, on a legal basis.

His wife is a university teacher. They are grandparents. Kravchuk likes to play chess. He is a good swimmer. Once he swam beyond the permitted limit in the Black Sea.

[Odinets] It is over two months since you were elected president of the Ukraine. Obviously you have already found your feet in this high office, so can you tell us something about the opening stages of the game, as the chess players say?

[Kravchuk] A few days after becoming president I went to Minsk and signed the agreement, together with the leaders of Russia and Belarus, on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. On my return to Kiev I heard this reproach—three presidents have signed an agreement in secret, behind the back of the people of Ukraine. Why did you not consult with the Ukrainian people, or at least with parliament, before signing?

I replied: "We have to live for a while in a different dimension of time before we can leave behind the tradition of detecting actions directed against the people in every move by the president or government." And I went on to stress: "You want to put the president in a position where he would be walking around like a puppet, consulting with everyone about what he should do. That is not appropriate. Let us act according to the laws and norms that have been adopted. I was acting in accordance with my powers."

And indeed, when you have support in society, among the people, you can successfully carry out even "unpopular measures." I am opposed to issuing decrees without the support of political forces and power structures.

The presidency is hard work, and in our case the institution of the presidency is new and in its youth. A survey of this question revealed that more than 70 percent of those polled have no idea what constitutional, legislative powers the president should have. But people demand resolute actions from him, on the grounds that the head of state is elected by a majority of the population and therefore has all the necessary prerogatives. That is the real situation, that is public opinion, and it must be reckoned with. I recently said at a parliament session: We must act in such a way that the Supreme Soviet needs the president and the president needs the Supreme Soviet. So that they cooperate without quarreling, and thus each of them does his job, plows his own furrow...

I proposed that the Supreme Soviet grant the president sufficient powers to enable him to create the administrative structures that are needed in the existing situation, ensure proper fulfillment of existing laws, and appoint plenipotentiary representatives from among those selected by the local soviets for these posts. This must be done, because the facts show that at the present important stage the local soviets have become cut off from people, have lost their links with the labor collectives. In order to involve social organizations and various parties and movements in the resolution of difficult tasks, I have proposed that a "roundtable" be organized, under the president's auspices...

[Odinets] The rush to the savings banks by investors after your television appearance, the urgent appeal by those assembled in St. Sofia Square for you to address them at the assembly [veche]—points like these show that people trust you, that your prestige is quite high. But the Ukraine's economic and financial position is still very complex. Are you not afraid that the introduction of reusable coupons—which, in the view of one English newspaper, was a mistake—could damage your economic policy and your prestige as president?

[Kravchuk] When we chose the path of transition to the market, the path of profound economic reforms, we

intended to adopt appropriate laws and develop mechanisms for implementing them. According to our plans, the first real steps toward free pricing would have taken place some time in March or April of this year. But the Ukraine could not do that without considering what you might call the environment, that is, the processes that are taking place beyond its own borders.

In this connection let me note that Russia announced the forthcoming price liberalization last fall. That step came as a complete surprise to us. No one had consulted us or even informed us. Last December, at the meeting in Belarus, we asked the Russian leadership to take into account the emerging situation; if we are living in a single "ruble" area, then naturally we should coordinate our actions.

However, without regard to our request, the Russian leadership, after a brief postponement of the switch to free prices, went ahead and did it 2 January this year. And we were left with no choice but to follow the Russian pattern. Otherwise our sick market and our sick economy would have been ruined in a matter of a few months.

Not having our own monetary unit, we were completely defenseless against a possible ruble onslaught. An increase in wages and prices in Russia would have led to the stripping of the Ukraine's commodity market. In view of this, we asked the Russian leadership, since it alone prints rubles, to provide us with the necessary money supply. They promised they would. But of the 20 billion rubles [R] that the Ukraine needs in the context of price liberalization, it has received only an insignificant proportion. And we found ourselves facing a situation where our economy was in urgent need of rescue.

The result of our endeavors was the decision to go over to coupons. These were initially conceived not as a parallel currency, but as a measure to protect our own market, that is, the coupons were to circulate alongside rubles, for the time being. But since the necessary quantity of rubles was not available, some payments had to be made in coupons. Therefore what is now happening in our economy is not the result of a logical process that has been fully modeled and predicted—it was a way out of an impossible situation.

But the mistakes we made are also playing a part. First and foremost there is the onslaught of departmental interests, when people only think about their own rights and do not consider the overall situation. For instance, the agrarian sector of our economy prepared its own price liberalization scenario, whereby kolkhozes and sovkhozes were instructed by the relevant departments to increase their profitability to the level of 65 percent, and to increase wages tenfold to twelvefold. I agree that our peasants have always had to put up with a lot, and still do. But that decision meant that prices in the state sector would rise considerably higher than those being asked on the market. Of course, that practice is not compatible with common sense. In order to offer some kind of resistance to price rises, a limit was imposed on the level of prices for certain food products and a subsidy was established to reduce retail prices for cooked sausage. A number of adjustments were made in the sphere of economic measures. Important conclusions were drawn.

As for my prestige, I do not think it will suffer, if we can emerge with honor from the difficult situation that has developed.

[Odinets] Reports have appeared in some Russian newspapers that you intend, because of the deteriorating economic situation, to "sacrifice" Prime Minister Fokin. I know how strong the "Kravchuk-Fokin" link is, but I could not help remembering the radicals' slogan "Down with Masol-Kravchuk," proclaimed last fall. It ended in the replacement of the government leadership. Since that time much has changed, naturally, both in society and in your own personal sympathies. Is there a possibility of such a step, which the newspapers are writing about, at some crucial point?

[Kravchuk] The recent government measures, which gave rise to unprecedented price increases, annoyed the population and parliamentarians.

Here I must say, by way of justification, that things are very difficult at the moment for the republic leadership. We are having simultaneously to form the economic institutions of a sovereign Ukrainian state and implement the transition to a market economy. Naturally this process is difficult. But to be fair, let me repeat—the government's recent measures were forced upon it. They were not prepared for; they were dictated by Russia's policy. But that does not, of course, absolve anyone of responsibility.

In this complex situation the government has unfortunately demonstrated insufficient professionalism, a lack of accurate economic analysis of processes, an inability to make scientifically substantiated predictions of the development of events, and a low level of effectiveness of administrative decisions. The Cabinet of Ministers admitted this at its recent session.

But it would be inappropriate to blame the government alone for everything, although that is the fashion now. It is relevant to point out that, taking advantage of departmental chaos, a significant proportion of producers, particularly in the agro-industrial sector, exploiting their monopoly, the lack of competition, and the all-around shortages, are fleecing their own people. The profit levels at some enterprises have shot up to 400-500 percent. But there is another extreme—unable and unwilling to work under market conditions, many of them simply cannot get out of the habits of the old administrative-edict system.

In connection with the current demands for the Fokin government to resign, I would like to ask those who initiate these demands: Is it sensible or right to raise the problem of the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers,

that is, to provoke a government crisis, right now, in a complex and difficult situation when everything is falling apart? Of course not. It would lead to complete collapse. The attacks on the Cabinet of Ministers and the rallies are prompted, of course, by the difficulties of life. But today such a step will lead to nothing but adverse consequences.

I told the Ukrainian people's deputies in parliament that I have no grounds to express a lack of confidence in Vitold Pavlovich Fokin. When I feel any such lack of confidence, I will say so to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

[Odinets] A wise man once said: It is bad if ministers are replaced frequently, but it is even worse if bad ministers stay in their posts. Apparently—you mentioned this in parliament—a number of departmental leaders are to be replaced. What considerations were you guided by here?

[Kravchuk] I consider it necessary to deal appropriately with those officials who, through their actions, their inaction, or their inability to work in the conditions of the transition to a market economy, have exacerbated the situation still further. They must answer for it. Those who have made miscalculations like that or helped to increase social tension—whether consciously or not—cannot stay in high state posts. Working people should not have to bear the burden of the consequences of incompetent officials' decisions.

I have already mentioned the mistakes made by the agro-industrial management in determining prices for agricultural products. And? Some 25,000 management workers in that organization are still "ruling" agriculture and calmly eating bread not grown by their hands. We can no longer tolerate a situation where a vast administrative apparatus, having patently exhausted its usefulness, is preserved in its primitive form. Agro-industrial officials are verbally in favor of the "emancipation" of peasants, but in practice they are in no hurry. Our administrators are like a man who lives at someone else's expense and is in no hurry to let him go, because he knows he will be left without support. They see how a large proportion of the harvest is sometimes ruined and much that has been grown is not removed from the fields in time, yet they take no decisive steps. Nor do they allow others room to prove themselves in work on their own land.

[Odinets] A lot of foreign journalists visit you to get interviews for their newspapers, radio, or television. The questions, so far as I have read, are for the most part all of the same kind—they are about relations with Russia, with Yeltsin, about Ukraine's armed forces, the Black Sea Fleet, the economy, coupons... Tell me, have there been any questions that particularly stick in your mind?

[Kravchuk] Of course. One correspondent, during an interview, said to me point-blank: "You were all Gorbachev's sons, and you killed him!" I replied that I do not feel guilty of that, although of course it would have been better if the question of Gorbachev had been decided not in Minsk and Alma-Ata, but at the Congress of People's Deputies of the former Union. And I don't think anyone "killed" him. He paved the way for pluralism of opinions and freedom of the press, he showed democracy the way, but was incapable of preventing disintegration and chaos in the country, and that is where his guilt lies. Now the main thing is not to sink so low as to walk all over him. I criticized the Union president, but I also noted that he had done much both for the former Union and for the whole world. Gorbachev now has the opportunity actively to help the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries.

Another correspondent asked about my party past. He asked what I had gained from my earlier work as an active member of the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership. I replied that in the Communist Party I gained experience of working with people. I met with thousands of Communists and nonmembers of the party. It was particularly useful that I learned to conduct debates first in front of tens and then hundreds of people, and then in front of a television audience, where millions of people were watching and listening to you. From seeing what was happening around me, I learned to assess the situation realistically and observe the consequences of everything negative that was generated by the numbing administrative edict system: every kind of suppression of individual freedom and democratic principles. And this is always in my mind's eye now as a reminder that you cannot pursue an antipopular policy under cover of good intentions.

One journalist asked this question, too: "They will certainly write about you in the future textbooks of Ukrainian history. How would you like to be written about?" I said: I would like them to tell the truth. The truth about how we lived, how we fought for an independent Ukraine in these complex, difficult times. I would also like to read, one day, that Kravchuk was one of those who did much to break up the empire, that Ukraine played an enormous role in that. Let them write nothing but the truth. Although the muse of history is, as the French say, a very unpredictable lady.

And another representative of the press said to me through an interpreter: "You were a Communist, now you are becoming a capitalist. How do you interpret this metamorphosis?" I said that my main aim is to devote all my efforts, all my life to making the people of Ukraine prosperous and rich, to ensuring that peace, tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness prevail on Ukrainian soil. I want nothing for myself.

[Odinets] The more complex the economic situation becomes, the more clearly the destructive forces declare themselves, including nationalist forces...

[Kravchuk] We cannot allow the nationalist card to be played in the Ukraine. The people themselves did not allow this to be done, they showed wisdom and prudence, patience and spiritual strength, refusing to rise to

slogans that could lead to the destruction of the achievements and gains, small as they may be, in the creation of our independent state. We hope that this will continue to be the case, though there is a danger of a split. Those who are trying to engage in a power struggle are beginning to stir again, and there is, incidentally, very fertile soil for this: a difficult economic situation, a lot of dissatisfied people. And here, once again, some people are beginning to weigh the people's fate on the scales, against their own interests, ambitions, and corporate objectives. This is a terrible danger: It could affect thousands, millions of people, the sons and daughters of our state. A further buildup of confrontation could entail the suspension of the democratic process, the failure of the reforms, and the violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity. History confirms the likelihood of precisely this chain of events. We have seen it before, when the people, the nation, were unable to unite around great goals and yielded to pressure from outside or from within. And such pressure exists today...

[Odinets] Some political circles outside Ukraine ascribe to you a certain destructive role in the Commonwealth. What can you say about that?

[Kravchuk] These circles, demonstrating a characteristically imperial inability to perceive Ukraine as an independent state, are ready to regard it as an attempt to undermine the Commonwealth if Ukraine so much as proclaims its interests, to say nothing of lawful actions to defend those interests. Joint work within the framework of the Commonwealth, if it is not a state, cannot rob Ukraine of its independence. In accordance with the people's will, we intend to object in every way to this transformation of the Commonwealth into a state formation. Incidentally, the statement adopted in Alma-Ata states clearly and specifically that the Commonwealth is neither a state nor any kind of formation of that type. When we are at the conference table and someone forgets about that, I invariably remind them. That is why they ascribe destructive tendencies to me. But the statement was signed, and must be fulfilled. Here it is apposite to say: If attempts are made within the framework of the Commonwealth to go back to imperial times, the Commonwealth has and will have no future.

[Odinets] There are signs of what you could call, to put it mildly, mass complaints against the Ukraine...

[Kravchuk] Our staunchness, prudence, and wisdom are currently being put to the test. The mass media of the former center and some representatives of Russia's leading circles are grossly interfering in our affairs, resorting to insults, and giving distorted interpretations of our policy. The Ukraine has been subjected to this imperial pressure since the moment it proclaimed independence. Some journalists are simply competing to see who can fling most mud at the Ukraine and at everything relating to our position in domestic and foreign affairs. In short, everything possible is deliberately being done to damage the building of an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

We are well aware that policy with regard to Russia should be a priority for us, and the same is true of Russia's policy toward Ukraine. This is an essential condition. In the light of our history, our links, and, for instance, the fact that more than 11 million Russians live in the Ukraine and some 5 million Ukrainians live on Russian soil. It must also be borne in mind that we have to tackle together—on equal terms, with no senior or junior partners—huge problems that cannot be resolved otherwise.

In relations with Russia we must not be guided by emotion or grievances. We have a common history going back many centuries. Ages, centuries have passed, and people's lives, their very roots, have become intermingled. We cannot quarrel. Everything must be done to achieve economic and political accord.

Relations between the Ukraine and Russia were always of great significance. We cannot quarrel with each other just because one of the leaders makes an ill-considered statement. All those in the Ukraine or Russia who are in favor of democracy must maintain normal friendly relations. If problems arise, they should be tackled by holding meetings, at the conference table.

[Odinets] After all, you have normal relations with Russian President Yeltsin, don't you? Although some people say the opposite. Do you often talk with him on the telephone?

[Kravchuk] I think our relations are normal. We talk on the telephone roughly once a week, unless our travels prevent us, and we touch on the most important problems of our relationship. I defend the interests of the people of the Ukraine, and he defends the interests of the people of Russia. We have agreed that particularly difficult questions will be made the subject of talks. We invite experts and consultants to help. Our premier V. Fokin has been to Moscow for a meeting with B. Yeltsin, and Shakhray and Rutskoy have been here.

As for certain public remarks by the Russian president, the fact that these were made in a rally atmosphere is a mitigating circumstance.

He himself worries me less than his entourage. It includes certain members of parliament and some of the ministers who continue to uphold the old positions, adhere to chauvinist views, and see the Ukraine as part of the empire, that is, as having no right to autonomy.

[Odinets] Many PRAVDA readers think you are rather prejudiced in your view of the problems of the army and the Black Sea Fleet.

[Kravchuk] We are often accused of an irresponsible approach to the problem of building the Ukraine's armed forces.

I cannot agree, because we have formulated a solid legal base in this sphere. We have not taken a single step with regard to the armed forces that has not been based on our own legal foundations and the agreements that were

concluded in Alma-Ata and Minsk. We have not gone back on the accords or violated them, and we want to continue to resolve all these questions through talks and consultations. This is the only correct path.

Remember, when the Ukraine proclaimed the Act of Independence, we immediately found ourselves under a hail of accusations and hints that the borders should be revised. We came to the conclusion that the situation could be defused only through talks. Delegations from the Russian Federation and the Supreme Soviet of the then Union came to Kiev. After talks that proceeded with difficulty, a communique was nonetheless adopted, and that made the problems less acute.

[Odinets] Forgive me, but one foreign newspaper put forward the view that certain forces want the situation to be exacerbated in the region in order to divert attention from internal problems, and if this dispute had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent it...

[Kravchuk] It is common knowledge that the heads of state of the former Union agreed to the Ukraine's position on the formation of its own fleet based on the Black Sea Fleet. A commission was formed, which will divide the fleet into strategic and tactical, after which the section with conventional arms will be transferred to the Ukraine. A decision was also adopted on the withdrawal from our territory— and subsequent destruction—of tactical nuclear weapons by July of this year, and strategic nuclear weapons by 1994. However, the Ukraine is now accused of claiming the entire Black Sea Fleet, although, to the best of my knowledge, no Ukrainian official has ever said that. We said that the Ukraine has a right to its own fleet and a right to create that fleet on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet. As for concrete questions—how many ships we need, of what class—all this has still to be clarified, since the outline for our Black Sea Fleet has not yet been formulated.

We probably do not need all 300 ships, just as we do not need ships carrying nuclear weapons. We do not want the enclosed sea area of the Black Sea to be in danger of radioactive contamination, and we are categorically against that. That is how we see it, yet we are accused of laying claim to the entire Black Sea Fleet, although I see nothing extraordinary in posing the problem in this way. How can anyone say that Ukraine, which invested so many efforts and resources in building the Armed Forces of the former Union, cannot even talk about its rights in this sphere?

Apparently only one republic has the right to everything—to the entire fleet, all the Armed Forces, all the embassies and consulates and so forth, and the others are deprived of that right. We cannot agree to that, and we never will. Let us uphold the interests of the Ukraine, the interests of its people. We have acted and will continue to act in accordance with the agreement we signed, and we can never agree to a situation where some people are playing the armed forces card, the Black Sea Fleet card, particularly vigorously. Nor do we want the concept of building our own armed forces on ethnic lines to be imposed on us. We advocate that these armed forces should be based on the principles of citizenship. We do not want people to take the oath under pressure—it is a voluntary matter. But we do not want people to interfere in our affairs here, either. It should be stressed: Independent Ukraine will allow no one to dictate terms to it. We did not and do not lay claim to the sovereign rights of other states, and at the same time we always staunchly defend our own interests, especially in the sphere of national security.

I think common sense and wisdom will prevail in the end, people will get over their great-power syndrome, and everything will fall into place. Time will do its work, and we will certainly be treated like a people, a state, with the historic right to our own property, to a part of what was created by joint efforts, including that part of the Armed Forces that independent Ukraine must have.

[Odinets] IZVESTIYA recently published a Russian Supreme Soviet Decree on the unconstitutionality of the transfer of the Crimea to the Ukraine and an appeal from the Russian Supreme Soviet to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for the Black Sea Fleet to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the CIS. Do you see this as whipping up tension?

[Kravchuk] I have already spoken about that. However hard certain political forces in Russia may try—and such forces exist in the Ukraine too—to cause a quarrel between two great peoples with such a long common history, they will not succeed. Not even the Russian parliament, which has raised the rather dubious question of revising the 1954 act, will change the general situation, since there is no legal basis for putting the question in that way. If people were guided by the lofty principles of humanism and justice, they would not have submitted anything like that for discussion by the Russian parliament. I rely on the wisdom of the Russian democrats, whose forebears bought freedom from serfdom for our Taras Shevchenko. They will not allow us to quarrel in today's difficult and very complex situation.

[Odinets] And a last question. PRAVDA is in a very difficult position now. What do you wish its collective as we approach the newspaper's 80th birthday, what wishes would you like to express?

[Kravchuk] A newspaper, like a person, has phases in its life—complex, difficult, easy, pleasant. There have been years when PRAVDA was forced to go underground, it was banned, persecuted, and there were times when it was considered the country's main newspaper. All the other mass media took their lead from PRAVDA. It had a great patron—the CPSU Central Committee. And everyone knew that if PRAVDA had spoken, it was as if the general secretary had spoken, or very nearly. Now the situation in society has changed so much that you cannot even tell who the paper's boss is. But maybe this is a great primordial truth, that there is no boss, no dictator, no interpreter, no one giving orders as to what must be

done and how, there is a collective that works in the way it considers necessary. Although there are difficulties about publishing, paper, subscriptions. All this is having a grave effect on all the newspapers.

I keep an eye on PRAVDA like the other newspapers, I read it. I think it has emerged from its difficult stage, from the tough trials, without major losses, moral or creative. This has doubtless happened because the collective occupied, on the whole, an active stance in this difficult time. I can still remember how, when the CPSU was at the height of its powers in the period of perestroyka, PRAVDA was the first to open fire on the party apparatus with the article "Purification." This article came as a great surprise to everyone. It certainly contained something of today's standpoint.

I would therefore like to wish PRAVDA this: that it take its bearings from the vast majority of the people and orient itself toward the truthful coverage of events regardless of the complex situations which it faces now and will no doubt face in future. If any particular strata behave incorrectly, they must come under critical fire. PRAVDA, in the days of its first salvoes against the apparatus, reflected the state of affairs that existed at the time, and if today it can reflect life in depth and show different viewpoints and different positions, it will be up to the mark. If it tries to lead certain groups of people, its readers, in the direction of a correct understanding of events and the calm tackling of problems, this will be to its credit, and that is what I would like to wish your newspaper.

Further on Kravchuk News Conference Remarks

PM1102164392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Sergey Tsikora report: "Leonid Kravchuk Describes Crimea Issue as 'Artificial Problem'"]

[Text] Kiev—Three "burning" topics were the subject of examination in the republic parliament and at a news conference held by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk: The Crimea issue, the problem of the return of deported Germans to the Crimea, and the cabinet of ministers's "clarification" on social protection measures for the population.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet delivered a response to the message from the Russian parliament, which proposed that the constitutionality of the 1954 act transferring the Crimea to the Ukraine be examined. It says that the revision of state agreements between Russia and the Ukraine could promote the destabilization of the situation in both republics. The issuing of a message on the territorial question is a breach of all the recent interstate agreements between Russia and the Ukraine, the history of which in no way starts, as is well known, in 1954. "The Crimea became part of the Ukraine within the framework of the political and legal structures, procedures, and realities which existed at the time in the former USSR." The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the statement goes on to say, reaffirms its commitment to the Helsinki agreements and, in particular, to the principle of the inviolability of state borders and rejects any territorial claims. The Ukraine has no territorial claims on neighboring countries and hopes for the same approach and support from all Commonwealth countries, particularly the Russian Federation, which has traditionally been friendly toward us, and a guarantee of peace for the population of the Crimea, which is an inalienable part of the Ukraine and enjoys the status of a full-fledged autonomous republic.

Leonid Kravchuk described the Crimea issue as an "artificial problem." In the recent referendum 93 percent of the inhabitants of the peninsula advocated Crimea's being part of the Ukraine. Therefore, the Ukrainian president said, "we will survive this issue" just like the charged emotions surrounding the Black Sea Fleet. The Ukraine's position does not boil down to dividing up the fleet, it is broader. We consider, L. Kravchuk stressed, that there should be no nuclear fleet in the Black Sea. The Ukraine welcomes Turkey's initiative on creating an economic cooperation zone among Black Sea states.

The current commander of the fleet has a different view; he considers that the fleet's combat might should increase. But this is unrealistic, Leonid Kravchuk said, as neither Russia nor the Ukraine now has the resources for capital ships. The senior officers know this, and it is no wonder therefore that they now regard the "Black Sea Fleet as a recreation base for military chiefs who previously served in the North and East." We, however, think that there should be a zone of peace and calm here. I think that this idea will be supported by other states too.

"I believe that commonsense will prevail in the Crimea," Kravchuk said. "We are doing everything to remove this question from the agenda. Powers will be demarcated between the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] [as published] and the Ukraine within the month and answers found to other urgent tasks, because the consequences of confrontation here could be most undesirable."

The latest piece of news is that the blue and yellow Ukrainian state flag has been raised over Sevastopol City Soviet.

The Ukrainian president also explained the Ukraine's position on the question of receiving Germans.

"I am not inviting the Germans," Kravchuk said, specially stressing this political nuance. "Before the war they lived on the territory of five Ukrainian oblasts. There were 400,000 of them. And if the deported Crimean Tatars have the right to return, deported Germans also have the same rights. This represents the restoration of historical justice."

The initiative for the return came from the German "Revival" Society. If a large number of families come, a national rayon will be created for them. But this is not an

autonomous formation, the president specially noted. Not just the oblasts of their former settlement—Nikolayev, Kherson, Odessa, Zaporozhye, and Crimean Oblasts—but also Poltava and Cherkassy... are ready to receive the Germans.

But no matter how acute the Crimean and German issues are today, the main site of seething passions in Kiev was the parliament, where the cabinet of ministers clarified to deputies measures for the social protection of the republic's population. Addressing the session, Prime Minister V. Fokin said that January had passed in the republic without money being isued. In February the government is even counting on a certain growth in the output of goods, including food. Other examples of the government's efforts to stabilize the economic situation in the republic were cited.

But these facts failed to persuade parliamentarians of the correctness of the government's chosen path. The majority of speakers at the session sharply criticized the government's work and demanded its resignation, and deputies asked the president to form a new cabinet which corresponds to the idea of a government that enjoys the people's trust.

And the following fact is evidence of the need to take emergency measures now: In a year industrial consumption of electricity has fallen by 14 percent. This means that a huge number of plants have ceased operating and that the republic is now consuming things that yesterday it produced. Deputies blamed the government for being more involved in redistributing goods than organizing conditions to boost output.

The government was only saved from a no-confidence vote by the fact that parliament's working came to an end and the several resolutions on the cabinet of ministers' report were not brought together within a single document. The parliamentarians agreed that they would announce their conclusion on the government's work the next day.

Crimean Leader 'Satisfied' With Discussions

LD1202111592 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 0100 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The dispute between the Ukraine and Russia over the Crimea is going to become a key issue not only for both countries but also for all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Who will have the upper hand, the Ukraine, which took possession of the Crimea as a result of the Act of 1954, or Russia, which conquered the peninsula during the military expansion in the 18th century?

If Russia wins the dispute its position as a kind of a [word indistinct] center for the Commonwealth will get stronger, and the Ukraine's victory in the dispute would inevitably make the centrifugal forces even more vigorous, both in Russia and in other states of the Commonwealth where this kind of disintegration is still possible. Both outcomes may bring no good to the democracies which are just developing on the ashes of the former superpowers.

The Russian radical legislators voice their arguments too loudly: The Crimea seceded to the Ukraine illegally and the peninsula should be returned. The Ukraine's stand on this issue seems to be more sound and flawless from the legal point of view. In compliance with the Helsinki Accords, the borders in Europe are not subject to change, but what about the leaders of the Crimean Autonomous Republic and the people? What do they feel about the dispute?

Last week the so-called Hrynyov mission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet visited the Crimea to study the situation on the spot. Volodymyr Hrynyov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Rada of the Ukraine, held negotiations with the Crimean leaders and he returned to Kiev satisfied with the results. And here is what Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomy, feels about the negotiations.

We are satisfied with the results and we are very grateful to the Supreme Rada of the Ukraine for sending a high-ranking delegation to the Crimea, said Mykola Bahrov. They had all opportunities to study the situation in the republic. We have found some common approaches at to the solutions of the problem and I think we would be able to reduce the tension. Our joint work resulted in the joint statement in which I would emphasise two main points. The Ukrainian delegation supported the position of the Crimean leadership, which insists that the fate of the Crimea must be decided by its people. We reached an agreement that the negotiations on the most controversial issue, the Black Sea Fleet, should begin without delay. And, finally, we set up a number of issues to be immediately discussed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine and Ukraine's Cabinet of Minister, said Mykola Bahrov.

There are three options for the Crimean autonomy: the republic stays with the Ukraine, joins Russia, or becomes independent. Which of them seems most attractive for the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, and what are his views on the future of the peninsula? Mykola Bahrov:

I would rather not make statements which would cause some unnecessary tension around this issue, said Mykola Bahrov. It is a fact that presently Crimea is a part of the Ukraine and it depends on both republics whether the problem will be solved successfully or remain as it is. If both sides understand this, the problem of the Crimea will cease to exist. I think that the future of the Crimea is bright and our parliament believes that to reach the economic prosperity we must create a free economic zone in Crimea as a first step. Of course, we will have to live through hard times, but there is a hope for the better, said Mykola Bahrov.

That was an interview of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomy. In a few days Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk will meet in Kiev. The future of the Crimea will greatly depend on the decisions the two leaders make.

Majority of Kiev Officers Pledge Allegiance

OW1202133392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lt.-Gen. Valentin Boriskin, commander of the Kiev military district, has told IF [INTERFAX] that of the district's 17,000 army officers nearly 13,000 have pledged allegiance to Ukraine. The general finds the formation of Ukraine's own armed forces as "a logical process meeting the republic's interests."

The servicemen refusing to take the oath of allegiance will have been leaving Ukraine for Russia. A short while ago President Kravchuk replaced the commanders of the Kiev, Odessa and Carpathian military districts for unwillingness to swear loyalty to the Ukrainian republic.

Registration Procedure for Travel Detailed

AU1102185192 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 4 (50), Jan 92 p 5

["List of Documents That Are Required, in Accordance With the 9 October 1991 Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 247 'On the Procedure for Registering Documents That Enable Citizens to Go Abroad'"]

[Text] 1. **For persons leaving abroad on official business**, the corresponding institutions, enterprises, or organizations file an application, in a specified format, and a document confirming the consent of the receiving party.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepares documents for state and government delegations, officials of ministries and departments, central organs of republican public organizations, and for official trips abroad on the basis of visas.

Organs of internal affairs issue foreign passports to those persons who go abroad on business trips in other cases.

2. **For organizing tourist trips abroad**, those organizations that have certificates of being officially registered as participants in the external economic activity with the right of exporting tourist services submit **to organs of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs** an application in a specified format and a list of persons going abroad and, if the trip is made on the basis of visas, one copy of every tourist's personal particulars is added.

3. **Depending upon the purpose of the private trip abroad, one of the following documents is submitted to the organs of internal affairs along with an application-questionnaire**:

—invitation from relatives permanently residing abroad or a permit from the receiving country if the person intends to become a permanent resident there;

—invitation, complete with a translation, from relatives or friends that is certified by competent organs of the foreign country that grant the person in question a temporary entry visa;

—a certificate, in a specified format, issued by competent organs of the foreign country about the invitation in the case of foreign trips without a visa. No certificates about the invitation are submitted in the case of those citizens who go to Romania.

Invitations for trips abroad are valid for the time period indicated in them, but not longer than for one year from the day of their issue;

—a special telegram-invitation certified by competent organs of Bulgaria, Mongolia, Poland, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia that is valid for 15 days from the day of its receipt;

—a telegraphic communication certified by a state institution or by a doctor about a grave illness or death of relatives. Such communications are accepted if not more than 15 days have passed since the day of their receipt;

—a statement by the husband (wife) who is a foreign citizen about the departure abroad, on a visa basis, together with the wife (husband) who is a citizen of the Ukraine;

—a reference from the Executive Committee of the Union of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the Ukraine confirming the burial and maintenance of the graves of relatives abroad, or a reference from local organs of power abroad confirming this fact (if necessary, a translation is added to the latter document), or notarially certified copies of such references. Such references are valid for 10 years;

—a letter from the Ukrainian Ministry of Health about the need to go abroad with a statement that the departure for the purpose of medical treatment has been coordinated with the receiving party and that the question of the expenses of the treatment has been resolved;

—a letter from the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice and from the Office of the Ukrainian Procurator General on the need to go to Bulgaria, Mongolia, Poland,

Rumania, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia as parties to, witnesses, or experts in civilian affairs;

—a written statement from the Inyurkollegiya [College of Foreign Law at the Moscow City Bar Association] on the need to be personally present in a particular country to receive an inheritance;

—appeals from embassies or consular offices of foreign states in our country that have been received by specific citizens of the Ukraine or have been addressed to Ukrainian instituitons or public organizations on granting exit visas to individual persons are treated by organs of internal affairs as invitations provided that it follows from them that the trip is private in nature.

Belarus

Foreign Minister on International Role

AU1202085792 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Feb 92 p 14

[Interview with Belarussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko by Dasa Hyklova; in Prague; date not given: "We Want To Play the Role of Brussels of the East"]

[Text] Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], developments in the East have continued to attract a great deal of attention. Belarus is one of the three founding members of the CIS. We asked its foreign minister, Petr Kravchenko, a few questions when he visited Prague.

[Hyklova] What kind of future would you forecast for the CIS?

[Kravchenko] The Commonwealth was established on Belarussian soil and, therefore, a special role falls to us as its coordinator. We will do everything in our power to ensure that the Commonwealth's "sacred flame" keeps burning. However, this does not mean that we will endeavor to become a new center. All the republics of the former Soviet Union have very bad memories of the old bureaucratic center. Choosing Minsk as the location for the Commonwealth's establishment meant that we renounced the former Union center once and for all. I think the vitality of this political and economic union will depend, first and foremost, on the republics. We do not perceive the Commonwealth as a state or as a supra-state unit, we are all equal partners. Nevertheless, there are currently some issues that concern us, and not everything is turning out the way we would like it to. I do not even discount the possibility that the Commonwealth could cease to exist for a certain period. However, I am convinced that, sooner or later, our economic ties would cause us to found the Commonwealth Mark II. Whether we like it or not, we are all condemned to live together. Our common economic system was created long ago and our economies are very closely connected and intertwined. Attempting to disconnect them voluntarily would mean unleashing an economic catastrophe on our people. The Commonwealth of Independent States will develop, change, and adapt itself to various circumstances, but it will exist. I believe that we in Eastern Europe will succeed in forming an East European Economic Community, an Eleven, following the West European Economic Community's example.

[Hyklova] What is it necessary to do to ensure that Belarus gains economic independence from Moscow alongside its political independence?

[Kravchenko] First and foremost, we must strive for the least possible dependence on raw material supplies from the East, from Russia. We have to transform the entire structure of our industry so that it is less energy demanding and not so completely dependent on supplies of oil, gas, and iron ore. We would like to develop technical and less materially demanding modern production associated with advanced technology. We realize this is a difficult task, but we have certain prerequisites for this. We have to convert the military and electrotechnical industry, the engineering industry, and the production of specialized instruments. We also have a relatively advanced petrochemical industry in Belarus; at the moment, we are looking for $400 million to help us restructure some large petrochemical plants. If we were to succeed in this, we would be able to increase the production of better quality and purer high-octane gasoline. Major economic restructuring awaits Belarussian industry.

[Hyklova] Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, many states have been worried about the fate of its nuclear weapons, some of which are deployed on Belarussian territory....

[Kravchenko] Tactical nuclear weapons are deployed on our territory. We declared recently that our republic will become a nuclear-free zone. We want to be a neutral state. Belarus will not only adhere to the principle it has assigned itself and to which it has bound itself, but it will even fulfill it ahead of schedule: We should eliminate nuclear weapons on our territory by 1 July 1992. I announced at the Prague CSCE conference that we will complete this process five months ahead of schedule.

[Hyklova] How do you view the prospects for economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Belarus?

[Kravchenko] The prospects are immense; for example, we can complement each other in the sphere of raw material sources. We have large deposits of potassium salts and there are not many states that can boast such a strategic raw material. There are also opportunities for cooperation in the engineering sphere. In view of the fact that our countries are not too distant from each other, we could also cooperate in dealing with ecological problems. I came up with an initiative here in Prague for establishing a single European ecological charter.

[Hyklova] Where would Belarus like to be ranked in European and world policy?

[Kravchenko] We would like—along with Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—to play the role of mediator between East and West. We would like to act as a kind of bridge in political and economic contacts. We would like to become the Brussels of the East in coordinating the CIS. We are interested in ensuring that everything new in the spheres of technological progress and market relations is put to the test on Belarussian territory. Our republic is politically stable and we have no ethnic problems. This is also one of the prerequisites for implementing the Belarussians' plans and dreams. We are open to the West and to the world and we are prepared to learn from European nations.

Official: CIS Agreements 'Unacceptable'

LD1102175792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1552 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Chairman of the Belarus Republican Commission on National Security Issues said most of the agreements to be discussed at the February 14, summit in Minsk are unacceptable for Belarus.

Mechislav Grib, chairman of the permanent Supreme Soviet Commission on National Security, Defence and Combatting Crime told PF [POSTFACTUM] that over 10 draft documents on military problems are to be discussed at the February 14, summit in Minsk. But only 3 or 4, in his view, can be adopted. These are the agreement on Strategic Armed Forces on the territories of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member-states, the agreement on nuclear arms reductions on the territory of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and the Ukraine and the agreement on conventional arms reductions. Mechislav Grib said the Commonwealth cannot have unified armed forces since there is no unified state.

Trade Unions Demand Higher Living Wage

LD0602225392 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarussian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The living wage in February should be 700 rubles instead of the current 350 rubles, according to the estimate of the experts from the Federation of Belarussian Trade Unions. This demand is conveyed in the statement by the Council of the Federation of Belarussian Trade Unions addressed to Vyacheslav Kebich, leader of the republic's government. The document states that the process of impoverishment of the population has become reality. The workers' discontent with high prices, the closure of a number of enterprises due to lack of work, and the threat of unemployment could lead to acts of civil disobedience. In order to prevent things from getting out of control, the trade unions propose that the Council of Ministers review a number of measures connected with the economic reform.

The Council of the Federation of Belarussian Trade Unions proposes that the government hold a roundtable discussion as soon as possible about the situation that has developed and draw up a constructive bilateral agreement on the subject.

Protests To Be 'Suppressed'

LD1002210492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1846 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Minsk—Belarus Supreme Soviet chairman supported the stance taken by alternative trade unions, at a meeting with Trade Unions Federation activists on February 7 in Minsk.

Trade Unions Federation Chairman Vladimir Goncharik accused the republican leadership of lacking a social protection mechanism, concerted economic actions of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states, etc.

Mikhail Sobol, chairman of the Labor Confederation of Belarus (alternative trade unions), assured those present that confederation members would not rally in the streets and struggle for the right to participate in privatization of means of production.

Speaking about the forthcoming meeting of the CIS heads to be held on February 14 in Minsk, Shushkevich said that he had information about the expected protest actions, for example road blocking. Such actions will be severely suppressed, Shushkevich warned.

Soligorsk Miners' Strike To Begin 11 Feb

'Demands Remain as Before'

LD1002231292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] The Soligorsk miners' strike will begin in the early hours of 11 February. We received this information from our Belarussian correspondent. Leonid Sviridov Here is what he reports:

[Sviridov] The deadline by which the Soligorsk miners demanded that a new wage agreement should be signed by the government of the republic expires on 11 February. The talks were broken off, even though they should have ended on 25 January. The republican authorities did not deign to send plenipotentiary representatives to see the workers. It was only on 27 January that the miners were invited to Minsk. No dialogue resulted.

Ivan Yurgevich, chairman of the Independent Union of Miners of Belarus, comments on these events in the following manner: Our demands remain as before—social insurance payments ought to be paid to personal accounts of every workers; the minimum wage ought to be linked with the consumer basket and underpinned by the essential foodstuffs and industrial goods. Fifteen percent of hard currency obtained through the sales of potassium salts should be set aside for miners' needs, and miners should be given medical insurance.

The International Union of Miners supports the independent union in Soligorsk. The coal extraction workers in Russia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan stated that should the government of the Republic of Belarus fail to meet the miners half-way, raw fuel materials would cease to be despatched to Balarus. As a Radio Rossii correspondent was told today by (Leonid Narkhodka), the administrator of affairs of the Independent Trade Union of Belarus Miners, the strike will be of the sit-down type; that is to say, miners will go down the mine, but will not

work. What is going to happen? Everything depends on the reaction and real actions of the government of the Republic of Belarus.

Further on Strike

LD1102231192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent Valentina Menshikova]

[Text] Soligorsk (Minsk Oblast), 11 Feb (TASS)—A strike by Belarussian miners resumed today. The reason for this was procrastination by the republican government in concluding a pay agreement for this year with the Independent Trade Union of Belarussian Miners [ITUBM]. The ITUBM council recommended a five-day strike "Italian style," that is, working with precise observance of absolutely all instructions. The council believes that this will inevitably lead to a stoppage at the pit-face and will at the same time enable the miners to receive their wages at least at the current rate.

"We are in favor of a strike only by those miners on whom the production and dispatch of fertilizers depend," says the leader of the ITUBM Ivan Yurgevich. "That's about 1,400 people. The rest of the miners will be paid for doing nothing." But the workforces of the first and fourth mines have completely stopped production

The miners intend to continue the fight until a pay agreement is signed with the government. The ITUBM council is prepared to embark on discussion of specific figures in an agreement. However, Ivan Yurgevich stressed, the miners will not budge from three demands—a guaranteed minimum consumer "basket," the introduction of personal social insurance, and fair implementation of privatization.

Creation of New Political Bloc Discussed

LD1202115292 Minsk Radio Minsk International Service in Belarussian 2230 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] A meeting of representatives of political parties, public movements, associations, and creative unions of Belarus took place the other day in the Belarus capital, Minsk, with a view to uniting in a political bloc New Belarus [Novaya Belarus]. Journalist Mikhas Rutkousky, who attended the meeting, reports:

[Rutkousky] The idea of creating a united sociopolitical New Belarus Party was put forward by the Belarussian Social Democratic Society headed by Mikhas Tkachou. The main objective of the united party is survival of citizens of our republic under the conditions of the unprecedented crisis. In the opinion of the political parties' leaders, who spoke at the meeting, the current Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic have exhausted themselves politically and therefore are not capable of leading society out of the economic abyss in which we have all found ourselves. But certainly one does not change horses in midstream. I believe that it is both the current Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic who must fulfill their sacred duty to the people, act resolutely, and implement bravely progressive reforms and new laws so that real market relations can form.

Of course the social democrats have sensible and valuable ideas with which it is impossible to disagree. But I do not want their efforts and struggle [word indistinct] for a better life for the people to become a struggle for power. I invite to a conversation Mikhas Tkachou, leader of the Belorussian social democratic society. With what objective is the unification of all the parties being planned?

[Begin recording] [Tkachou] We are going to unite into a bloc of democratic forces, New Belarus, activists of sociopolitical forces who are for the republic's independence and for solving its acute questions and problems. Why did we put forward this initiative now? First of all, we will speak bluntly, our party (?is fulfilling) its program. This program is aimed at creating conditions for national accord in our republic, organizing defense of sovereignty, and carrying out such economic reforms which will give each person in our republic a prosperous life.

[Rutkousky] It seems to me that the communists set themselves the same task.

[Tkachou] You know, we have an immediate difference with them: first of all because private property for them is a so-called taboo, something they do not accept. [end recording]

Nuclear Weapons Withdrawal 'Coming to an End'

PM1202094992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 1

[Report from roundup of PRAVDA, ITAR, and TASS reports under the "Newsbeat" rubric]

[Text] The Army should not be a political force or used by any parties or movements to forcibly impose regimes and governments, Colonel General Anatoliy Kostenko, commander of the Belarussian Military District, said during a speech on republican television. The general reported that the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of Belarus is being implemented in strict accordance with the accord of the heads of states of the Commonwealth of Independent States and is coming to an end.

Drafting of Military Laws Nears Completion

PM1002154192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Colonel P. Chernenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Preparation of Draft Laws on Military Questions Is Nearing Completion"]

[Text] Minsk—In line with the Belarussian Supreme Soviet resolution "On Armed Forces Stationed on

Republic of Belarus Territory," adopted at the beginning of January this year, a working group was set up to prepare draft laws on military questions. The group's work is already practically nearing completion.

"The group included representatives of the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, the staff of the Belarussian Military District, combined units and units, educational institutions, and also the Belarussian ministries and departments concerned," Lieutenant General Pavel Kozlovskiy, leader of the working group and chief of staff of the Belarussian Military District, relates. "They have all been broken down into several subgroups, each of which is formulating the draft of a specific law. There will be about 10 drafts in all, dealing with defense, military doctrine, alternative service, social protection for servicemen and their families, the status of the republic's Armed Forces, and the structure and size of forces on Belarussian territory."

It is planned that the laws on military questions will be discussed and adopted at the next session of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet, which will convene in the second half of February.

Wide-Scale Cooperation Agreed With Poland

Transport Links Viewed

LD0902113392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1714 GMT 8 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Poland and Belarus are beginning wide-scale cooperation in transport links. A long-term intergovernmental agreement has been signed here today on the interaction between the two countries in the development of railway, road, and aviation transport, and on the expansion and modernization of border crossing points. Stanislaw Bril, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is heading the delegation from the Republic of Belarus, was received by the head of the Polish Government Jan Olszewski.

S. Bril revealed to journalists that Belarus is vitally interested in using the rich experience and practical help of its neighbors in reforming this important branch of the economy. In turn, the refining of its national transport arteries will contribute to increasing the handling capacities of all the transit East-West traffic for the Commonwealth member states. According to him, a project for constructing a new main railway route Minsk-Paris via Brest and Warsaw, along which trains would run at the speed of 160 km/hour, was discussed during a meeting with the Polish premier. The possibilities for the mutual granting of a most favored status in auto freight and the prospects of increasing aviation traffic between Minsk and Warsaw were also discussed. It has been decided to open 10 existing, but idle up to now, border crossing points.

Belarus, which has no seaports of its own, is planning to use in the nearest future the Baltic ports of Poland since Gdansk and Szczecin are much closer than Odessa. Assurances have already been received from the leadership of the Polish state railways that it is ready to handle more than 2 million tonnes of cargo which Belarus annually exports and imports by sea.

Plans To Lift Border Restrictions

LD1002150492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] As of today inhabitants of Grodno [Belarus] and its oblast can travel without any restriction through the road border crossing at Kuznica Bialostocka-Drozgi, the authorities of Belarus have decided. The other Belarus citizens must still have diplomatic or business passports to cross at this point. Also a formal ban on movements via the crossing by Polish citizens, which has been in force for the last three months, was lifted. The Main Headquarters of the Border Guards let it be known the Belarus authorities are planning to abolish all restrictions on border movements for its citizens. However, the date of introducing the decision has not been notified to the Polish side.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Meets Afghan Vice President

LD1102143892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Vasiliy Danshin—TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 11 Feb (KAZTAG-TASS)—Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and a government delegation from Afghanistan headed by Vice President 'Abdul Rahim Hatif held talks here today.

The visitor noted that the republics are linked by common historic roots and traditions and that the war, which has still not ended, has inflicted enormous damage upon Afghanistan. At this difficult time Afghanistan is hoping to establish varied contacts with the independent states of the Commonwealth and to gain their support. The vice president expressed his enormous gratitude for the selfless aid over many years, including assistance in the economic field, in training cadres for the national economy, and in teaching students.

Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that Kazakhstan is seeking to establish political, economic, and cultural links with all the states that are moving along a civilized path of development and expressed the hope that the fratricidal war in Afghanistan will end very quickly. He said: "We are now going through the difficult period of transition to market relations. Literally every Kazakh has to learn how to live and work in a new way. Serious difficulties with grain have arisen in the republic because of last year's drought; as is the case with all the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, we have to purchase it abroad. There are many other problems, too, but they must not serve as an obstacle to cooperation with Afghanistan in the economic, trade, and cultural spheres. This cooperation has to be built, however, with due consideration for the realities of the present day."

On behalf of President Najibollah, Nazarbayev was invited to make an official visit to Afghanistan. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations held talks with the government delegation of Afghanistan.

Ties Established; Grain Pledged

OW1202132792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Meeting on Tuesday [11 February] with the visiting Afghan Vice- President 'Abdul Rahim Hatif, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan expressed his republic's readiness to supply a certain amount of grain to Afghanistan.

During the talks that largely concerned trade and economic matters, the Afghan official also requested energy assistance from Kazakhstan and asked to continue the practice of training Afghan specialists in Kazakh colleges and universities.

Nazarbayev said that considerable food shortages resulting from last year's drought would not prevent Kazakhstan from promoting economic, trade and cultural cooperation with Afghanistan, although "we will be building our relations with due regard for today's realities."

Until recently, Kazakhstan accounted for up to 20% of Soviet assistance to Afghanistan.

On Wednesday [12 February], the two countries' leaders signed a treaty on the establishment of diplomatic relations at embassy level.

Kyrgyzstan

President Reorganizes Government Structure

LD1102170992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Bishkek, 11 Feb (TASS)—Republic of Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev has reorganized the structure of power and made himself head of the government. Its composition was published today. The number of ministries and departments has been halved. The prime minister will be the deputy chairman of the government.

The structure of power proposed by the president is to be endorsed by people's deputies at a session of the republican Supreme Soviet on 26 February.

The crisis of legislative power has been eliminated, President Askar Akayev stated, and the same thing will be done to executive structures. There is a provision for reorganizing the agrarian sector, completing land reform, privatization and removing the sphere of production from state ownership, supporting private enterprise, attracting foreign investments into the republic's economy and introducing a national currency.

Cabinet of Ministers Named

OW1102171892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrgyzstan's new government must help the republic cope with the economic crisis, said President Askar Akayev on Monday [10 February] to a new cabinet of ministers. Kyrgyzstan's new premier is Tursunbek Chyngyshev; vice-premier for economic policy, German Kuznetsov; vice-premier for social policy, Abdyrany Erkebayev; and vice-premier for foriegn policy and foreign minister, Roza Otunbayeva.

The new appointments are subject to confirmation by the republican Supreme Soviet.

Akayev cited as the government's priorities the meeting of food supply needs, full employment, and the creation of efficient training and retraining systems for young people.

Akayev believes that the republic should hold a land reform soon, privatize retail trade, public catering and community services establishments and get started on the privatization of production facilities.

President Akayev To Visit Canada 12-17 Feb

OW0902174292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan is to visit Canada on February 12 to 17 at the invitation of Canadian prime-minister Brian Mulroney.

Ednan Karabayev, the presidential chief of staff, told IF [INTERFAX] the two sides plan to discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states and prospects for trade, economic and humanitarian cooperation, including the extension of a government credit on preferential terms by Ottawa to Kyrgyzstan.

For more detail about the upcoming visit see "Presidential Bulletin" of February 10.

Akayev Decrees Creation of German Districts

LD0702200892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 5 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] German national districts will be set up in areas densely populated by Germans in the Chu Valley, Kyrgyzstan. Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, has signed a corresponding decree.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan, Baker Hold News Conference

LD1202074192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0704 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—At a meeting with journalists, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker expressed satisfaction with the results of their conversations. Levon Ter-Petrosyan evaluated the meeting "as the beginning of all-around relations. We continued the exchange of opinions begun in November last year in Washington and discussed a wide range of problems," he said. "A high appraisal was given to the establishment of all-around relations, including diplomatic ones, between Armenia and the United States, and we examined mutual relations with our closest neighbors, ways for a peaceful solution to the Karabakh conflict, and the role of the world community and the United States in this issue."

Regarding the United States's involvement in settling the Karabakh crisis, Levon Ter-Petrosyan recalled that this issue has been at the focus of the U.S. Government's attention over the last six months. The U.S. side has supported the peacemaking mission of Presidents Yeltsin and Nazarbayev in the region and has made statements in defense of human rights and against breaches of the rights of ethnic minorities. The Armenian president voiced the hope that the United States would continue to play a definite role in settling this problem "not only within the framework of international organizations, but also independently."

"For future stability in the region, it is very important that this issue be resolved by peaceful means," James Baker stressed. He noted that the United States "has an interest in this question, as has been the case in recent months, especially within the framework of the CSCE," and recalled the decision by the member countries of the CSCE to send a group of observers to the Transcaucasus.

The United States and free, democratic, independent Armenia hold the same values, namely, adherence to democracy, freedom, a free market, and human rights, James Baker said. It is for this reason that we have such an interest in the success of its reforms, and we are counting on making our contribution to their successful implementation.

The secretary of state said that his tour of the Commonwealth of Independent States would last 11 days, but he had no plans to visit Nagorno-Karabakh at present. This morning he is leaving Yerevan for Baku where, he said, he also intends to touch on the Karabakh problem.

Foreign Minister Views Iran Visit Results

NC1102184592 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] An official Armenian delegation returned to Yerevan late last night from Tehran. The delegation went to Iran to hold talks on furthering diplomatic, economic, trade, and cultural relations and to sign relevant agreements.

Our reporter met Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovanesyan at the airport. We present the minister's statement:

[Begin recording] Our delegation (?returned) from Iran where Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati and I established diplomatic relations between our two friendly countries. We imparted an official character to our traditionally close relations. We will exchange diplomatic representatives within a month at embassy level. We will send our ambassador to Tehran where our tricolor will fly over our embassy. Here in Yerevan an Iranian Embassy will open.

I also met President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Majlis speaker, and other officials. The aim of these meetings was to present Armenia's position on various political, economic, and cultural matters, as well as on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. We informed them about Nagorno-Karabakh's right to self-determination and expressed the hope that Iran, as a friendly and impartial state, will play a positive role in making Azerbaijan step back from confrontation and seek peaceful solutions with us rather than the elected government in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Our achievements were not confined to the diplomatic sphere; we also laid the foundation for broad cooperation [words indistinct]. Iran was greatly impressed by our delegation, for it became clear that we [words indistinct] were genuinely interested in bilateral relations.

The most pleasant news is that Transportation Minister Hekimyan and his Iranian counterpart signed an agreement yesterday stipulating that construction of a modern bridge over the Araks River should start within 30 days. That bridge will link our two states.

Iran and Armenia have certain common interests and concerns, and we decided to jointly defend these interests by deepening our centuries-old friendship. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Discusses Economic Situation

LD1002235792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The fourth session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet opened today in

Yerevan. Deputies will be discussing a series of important documents. Among them will be a package of measures to strengthen the social protection of the population during price liberalization, as well as draft laws on the further improvement of state administration bodies and on stimulating activity by entrepreneurs, banks, and stock exchanges.

In the course of the session, deputies will also discuss draft laws on the privatization of state enterprises, the protection of foreign investments, the protection of consumers' rights, and a draft customs code for the republic. Also on the session's agenda are draft laws on government, local self-government, a constitutional court and court of arbitration, judicial powers, and the republican procuracy.

Opening the session, Supreme Soviet Chairman Babken Araktsyan described the socioeconomic situation in the republic as exceptionally difficult. He said such a position has been brought about by the uncertainty of political and economic relations between the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States, by Azerbaijan's strong-arm pressure on Nagorno-Karabakh, by the energy crisis in Armenia, by the unclear system of local authorities, and also by the imperfect mechanism of social protection for the population. The head of the parliament expressed the hope that the work of the deputies during the present spring session will be effective and will help solve the problems of leading the republic out of the crisis.

Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan made a speech at the session. The deputies then commenced their discussion of the session's agenda.

Republic Said Undergoing 'Energy Crisis'

PM1102131992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to reports from Yerevan, the energy crisis in Armenia has reached a peak; all industrial enterprises are shut and children have not attended school for two months. Electricity supplies to rayons and residential districts are cut off according to a strict rota.

According to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, officials blame this on Russia's failure to deliver oil products, and the very high cost of those that are delivered. For example, the cost of heating oil has increased 40-fold compared with last year.

Minister Urges Fuel Distribution Law Extension

OW1102192392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1844 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Gagik Arutyunyan, prime minister and vice president of Armenia, called upon the members of the Armenian parliament to extend the temporary law on distribution and use of fuel and energy resources due to the extraordinnary situation, until April 1. The time frame for this law which was put into effect December 20, 1992 [date as received], ran out this past Monday [10 February]. Speaking on Monday at the Armenian parliament, Arutyunyan's appeal was motivated by the continuing difficulties with fuel supplies in the republic.

Turkish Envoy Offers NKAO Mediation

NC1102190292 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Feb (ARMENPRES)—Reporter Ashot Dzhazoyan met in Moscow with Turkish Ambassador Volkan Vural. In talking with the reporter about the steps Turkey plans to take under the new political situation, the 1915 genocide of the Armenians, cooperation between the two countries under existing conditions, and other matters, Volkan Vural also explained his country's position on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The ambassador first noted that "they are much saddened by the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh." He said: "It goes without saying that further exacerbation of the conflict is not in the interests of either Armenia or Azerbaijan. As for our stance, we are ready to assist in certain ways for the peaceful resolution of the problem, provided of course both sides convey such a request to us. I personally think the solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is easy and difficult at the same time. It is difficult in that there is a certain psychological obstacle that has emerged out of an atmosphere of distrust. On the other hand, there could be an easy solution if both sides displayed mutual respect and goodwill.

This problem can be resolved if two basic principles are upheld. The first is that there should be no territorial changes. These days any territorial change leads to a host of complex problems as such changes engender certain reactions, new confrontations, and other territorial changes. The second principle, which is an important element of our times, is respect for human rights. That also includes the rights of national minorities, in this case the rights of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Of course, the cultural demands of the Armenian minority must be respected. If both sides accept this principle the confrontation will vanish. It is very important that the atmosphere of trust be built in Nagorno-Karabakh by taking concrete measures; there should be a call for disarmament."

New Interior Minister, Security Chief Named

NC1002181192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] The president of Armenia has issued decrees appointing Vanik Smbatovich Siradegyan as the internal

affairs minister. He was released from his post of adviser to the president on domestic policy and social affairs.

Valeriy Vagarshakovich Pogosyan was appointed head of the State Directorate for the National Security. He was released from his post of internal affairs minister.

Usik Surenovich Arutyunyan was appointed head of the State Administration for Taxation.

Azerbaijan

CSCE Delegation To Visit Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1102214792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to a report of the INTERSEPT agency, nine observers from seven CSCE countries will form a delegation that is going to Nagorno-Karabakh on 12 February and then on to Armenia and Azerbaijan to study the situation. The delegation will be headed by the director of the chancellory of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

National Council Warns Armenian 'Extremists'

LD1102190292 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku February 11 TASS—The National Council of the Azeri parliament described the recent session of the council of the "not existing Nagorno-Karabakh republic" held in the city of Khankendi (Stepanakert) "and its resolutions" as "a challenge to the sovereignty and independence of the Azeri Republic, attempt upon its territorial integrity and actions encroaching on the lives, honor and dignity of the Azeri people."

The National Council's resolution circulated by the AZERINFORM here today noted "complete legal groundlessness of the session and its decisions".

"Fulfilling the will of the Azeri people and on the basis of the Article 70 of the Constitution," the National Council has instructed republican ministries to "use all the legal means to restore the Azeri sovereignty on territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and subordination of all the citizens residing there to the Constitution and laws of the republic and respect for them."

It was decided to request the U.N. Security Council "to consider the issue of the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan with the aim of tearing away a part of its territory, the use of armed formations to interfere in interior affairs of the republic, and expatriation by force of 200,000 Azeris from the territory of Armenia in violation of the U.N. declaration on human rights."

"The National Council considers it its duty to warn Armenian national extremists, who have lost the sense of reality, that the Azeri people is determined to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its state and that it has all necessary means to do it," says the resolution.

Defense Ministry Reports Village's Capture

LD1102204992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] BAKU, 11 Feb (TASS)—After massive bombardment involving armored vehicles and tanks, Armenian fighters have captured the village of Malybeyli in Shushinskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry has announced. The village had been surrounded for a long time by the fighters and had been subjected to massive bombardment. There are fatalities among the inhabitants. About 20 people, including old men, women and children, were wounded. The population has been evacuated.

Armenians Deny Reports

OW1102140992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1323 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] As IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent has learned at the District Interior Department of Shusha, the local village of Malybeyli was seized by armed Armenians late on Monday [10 February] night, which resulted in numerous casualties on the part of the population. The Armenians continue holding also the villages of Gaibaly and Gushchular captured one day earlier.

There being no land or air communication with Malybeyli, local residents are unable to flee the scene of the fighting. The Azerbaijani president's press service has reported that Col.-Gen. Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasian Military District, has so far refused to send combat helicopters to evacuate civilians.

According to the Shusha Interior Department, the city of Shusha itself came last night under shelling. The number of casualties is yet to be established.

Meanwhile, Armenian sources have refuted the above reports about the seizure of Azeri villages in the Shusha district.

The press service of the Armenian Operational Headquarters says there were no more than fire exchanges between Stepanakert and Malybeyli throughout Monday night and Tuesday [11 February] morning. Several people on either side were wounded as a result.

One person was wounded in Stepanakert (Khankendi) on Monday night during a missile attack on the city from the direction of Shusha. Several dozen Alazan missiles and mortar shells were fired on Stepanakert at the time.

Iran's Readiness To Settle Disputes Welcomed

LD1102205192 Tehran IRNA in English 1535 GMT Feb 92

[Text] Tabr[illegible], Azerbaijan Prov., Feb. 11, IRNA—The Azerbaijan Republic welcomes Iran's readiness to settle its bloody disputes with Armenia and considers it as a means to achieve a lasting peace in the region, said a visiting Azeri official here Tuesday [11 February].

Speaking to reporters, Azeri parliamentarian Tamerlan Garayev added that the Islamic Republic, enjoying high prestige in the international arena, has the necessary political power and influence to mediate between the two newly-independent countries.

He termed as "malicious" the Russian Republic's interest in mediating between the two republics.

Garayev also described as "very fruitful" the visit by the Azeri parliamentary delegation to Iran and its talks with the Islamic Republic authorities in view of the fact that the two countries enjoy deep religious, ethnic and racial bonds and the need to expand fraternal ties and cooperation in all domains.

He said the visit helped the delegation to become acquainted with Islamic judicial and civil laws currently being implemented in Iran, adding that his republic is to change its present laws and regulations into democratic ones based on freedom of action of all individuals.

Garayev regretted that prior to his visit to Iran, he and other Azeri officials had been influenced by West's malicious propaganda against Iran and its judicial system as a result of which he had presumed that the changes in Iran were a recurrence to the past.

On the demonstrations recently held in Baku in protest to the Azeri leaders, Garayev said that they were held due to the increasing economic problems in the republic and the bloody disuptes with Armenia.

Garayev is heading a 50-member parliamentary delegation and will continue talks with Iranian officials in the capital later today.

Gasanov Views Economic Program, Soviet Debt

TA0902191792 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Excerpts] The Azerbaijani National Council has adopted the government's program envisaging economic independence. In a news conference for Turkish reporters in Baku, Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov said that under to the program, Azerbaijan will print its own currency. [passage omitted]

Gasanov explained that Azerbaijan had been asked to give $3 billion toward the repayment of Soviet debts but had refused to do so. The prime minister added that for 70 years Azerbaijan gave oil and raw materials to the Soviet Union without compensation.

Gasanov announced that he favors Turkey's mediation to resolve the disagreements between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Turkish Investment Urged

TA0702121392 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2100 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov has called on Turkish businessmen to invest in his country. Gasanov received a delegation composed of members and officials of the Association of Turkish-American Businessmen, the State Planning Organization, the Treasury and Foreign Trade Undersecretariat, the Finance and Customs Ministry, and private and public bankers visiting Baku.

ANATOLIA reports that Gasanov noted that they have insufficient resources for imports and exports and called on Turkish businessmen to invest in his country. He proposed that Turkey participate in the project to build a pipeline to transport natural gas from Turkmenia to Azerbaijan, Nakhichevan, Iran, and Turkey, crossing under the Caspian Sea.

Erdal Kabatepe, chairman of the Association of Turkish-American Businessmen, recalled that American and European businessmen are also part of the delegation, adding that the visit is significant because it will send an important signal to the world on the subject of investment opportunities in Azerbaijan.

Turkey Forwards UN Membership Request

LD0902214792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] It is reported from Istanbul that Azerbaijan has made a request to the United Nations to join the international community. Why does this report come from Istanbul? For the following reason: Azerbaijan has chosen Turkey as its intermediary. It was in fact the Turkish representative to the UN who forwarded this request.

Gasanov Meets Iran's Borujerdi, Views Ties

LD1202092992 Tehran IRNA in English 1410 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 11, IRNA—Azerbaijan Prime Minister Gasanov at a meeting with Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister for Asia-Oceania 'Ala'eddin Borujerdi in Baku Monday [10 February] said that Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic have fraternal relations. He added that Tehran-Baku ties must not be contained within the limits of prevailing bilateral cooperation among world countries.

Gasanov stressed the need for further upgrading of Iran-Azerbaijan ties and expressed hope that the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) with admission

of new members would turn into a powerful economic organization in this important region.

ECO, a regional cooperation organization founded 27 years ago and renamed in 1985, presently groups Iran, Turkey and Pakistan but three former Soviet Muslim republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are to formally join the organization during an ECO summit in Tehran next week. Two other newly-independent republics of Armenia and Tajikistan have also orally requested to join the body.

"Iran, in the light of its historical and deep friendly relations with Azerbaijan, is interested in upgrading mutual ties in all domains," the Iranian Foreign Ministry official said.

He also announced that Tehran will take the necessary steps to prompt membership of Azerbaijan and other Muslim populated and newly-independent republics of former Soviet Union in the United Nations Organization and its affiliates.

Borujerdi invited Gasanov to visit Iran.

Russian Population Appeals to Yeltsin

LD0802001192 Moscow Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Today representatives of the Russian population in Azerbaijan sent an appeal to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. It says in particular that Nagorno-Karabakh, the time-honored land of time-honored Azerbaijan, has become the object of unfounded territorial claims on the part of a section of nationalist-minded leaders in Armenia.

The authors of the appeal, representing the half-million-strong Russian population in Azerbaijan, also condemn Karabakh, the committee of the Russian intelligentsia, which, in their view, is conducting a policy aimed at inflaming the conflict.

Georgia

Council Awaits Ossetian Response on Talks Date

LD1102165292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A commission of the Political Consultative Council of the Georgian Provisional Government for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Tskhinvali region met today in the building of the Cabinet of Ministers in Tbilisi. The normalization of the situation, a ceasefire, the establishment of peace and calm and the restoration of transportation, power and water lines were discussed, in short the provision of normal living conditions for the population of the Tskhinvali region. What is required for this?

[Begin Consultative Council member I. Batiashvili recording] Talks with the Ossetian side. I, we, our commission would like to state that representatives have been appearing on Moscow Television and disseminating information that they would like to begin talks, but the Georgian side is in some way holding back. On 25 January—this is a fact—we took the intiative and began, embarked upon, preliminary talks. At these talks we agreed that the Ossetian side was to set the date for the beginning of talks, official talks, and inform us of it. We have been waiting since then. We have not yet been informed of anything. Time does not, of course, stand still. So today we decided to again get in touch with representatives of the Ossetian side. It is just, we are saying this with regret. Why is this political game necessary at all? What is the aim of it all? Perhaps we will have a chance to repair everything which has been spoiled in one way or another. [end recording]

Situation 'More Tense'

AU1202095192 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 12 Feb

[Text] Yesterday, a meeting of the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government Consultative Council commission for the peaceful regulation of the situation existing in the Tskhinvali region was held that was devoted to examining questions concerning negotiations with the Ossetian side in Samachablo [South Ossetia].

This is what Mr. Aleksander Kavsadze, the commission's chairman, said: Unfortunately, the situation has become more tense. One person has died in Gori Rayon who was shot by a representative of the internal troops. This fact has not yet been substantiated but, according to our data, this is what happened. On the initiative of our commission, negotiations started on 25 January to settle the conflict by peaceful means: There must be an end to the bloodshed and war, people must calm down, live peacefully, and then we can resolve the political issues. Our commission proposed that the Ossetian side fix a place and date for a future meeting but, as yet, we have received no news from them. Moscow TV has so many times broadcast information claiming that they want to hold negotiations with us but we know nothing about this.

Finally, Mr. Aleksander Kavsadze stated: When I recently met with representatives of the Ossetian side, I asked them to end this information war, and proposed that we sit and talk, that people calm down. Enough of this bloodshed and carnage. The commission has done a lot for the local population. Today and tomorrow, we will supply them with bread, fuel, and other domestic products. However, the most important thing is to defuse the serious situation.

Militiamen Call On Public 'To Join Forces'

AU1102171592 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The participants in the meeting of the Georgian militiamen with the public honored, by a minute of silence, the memory of those who perished. More than 150 comrades perished in the fratricidal war. By the end of the meeting, Roman Gonchadze, acting Georgian minister of internal affairs, answered numerous questions. He said, in particular, that the internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the former USSR are already leaving the territory of Georgia, that the arrival in the republic of Shevardnadze and Baker would only be possible after the situation stabilizes, and that Dilar Khabuliani, the republic's former minister of internal affairs, is presently receiving medical treatment in Moscow. The participants in the meeting adopted an appeal to the population of Georgia, calling upon the public to join forces and render as much assistance as possible to Georgian militiamen to ensure order in the republic.

Military Forbidden To Carry Arms in Tbilisi

OW1102171992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The commandant's headquarters in the Georgian capital told INTERFAX that members of the Georgian National Guard, the Mkhedrioni, and other military units are forbidden to carry firearms in Tbilisi as of February 11.

Citizens of the western Georgian cities of Zugdidi, Khobi, and Abasha appealed to the Georgian Military Council to lift the curfew in those cities as the situation there has stabilized.

However the press center of the military council in Senaki reports that the situation remains tense there. Gamsakhurdia supporters continue to rally in the city. On Tuesday [11 February] evening the demonstrators blew up the railroad outside the city. Train service was restored by morning.

Unions Request Participatory Role in Reform

AU1102180992 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] In view of the fact that, in the recent past, legislative and normative acts of state power and government that directly concerned the interests of broad strata of the population were prepared and adopted by a narrow circle of persons, without any coordination with trade unions, something that violated the worldwide principle of social partnership, the Georgian Confederation of Independent Trade Unions has appealed to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Georgia with a letter:

Proceeding from the complex sociopolitical situation that has taken shape in the republic, reads the address, that is due, in turn, to objective and subjective factors, the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Georgia expresses its readiness for constructive cooperation and support. Declaring our support for the multifaceted activity of the government aimed at resolving the problems that exist in the republic and at achieving a stabilization of the situation, we appeal to you with a request to coordinate with the trade unions the elaboration and adoption of decisions and normative acts that concern social and economic interests of the republic's population.

Defense Minister Sharashenidze Interviewed

PM1102124992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Levan Sharashenidze, interim Georgian defense minister, by correspondents Captain First Rank A. Pilipchuk and Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin; place and date not given: "Collective Security Makes Sense"]

[Text] The formation of national defense ministries in the former Union republics, now independent, is part of the general process of demarcation that has had a painful effect on the Army and Navy. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already published a series of interviews with the defense ministers of sovereign republics. Our correspondents met Lt. Gen. Levan Sharashenidze, interim Georgian defense minister.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Levan Levanovich, could you first tell us a little about yourself.

[Sharashenidze] I am 60 years old. I graduated from the Military Paratroop School in Alma-Ata many years ago. We were the first students of this training establishment, which hid behind the number of an ordinary Army unit. I am very grateful to the school and to the paratroops for helping an orphan to find his place in life. I served for a long time under the command of the legendary Vasiliy Filippovich Margelov. The Ukraine, the Baltics, Azerbaijan—I served in all these places as a paratroop officer. My last post was republic military commissar in Tbilisi. I was discharged from the Armed Forces in 1990. I have a Russian wife: Lidya Alekseyevna Chernova. I have two daughters and two grandsons: 14 year old Levan and 2 year old Teymuraz. I am very fond of them.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What about your political attachments?

[Sharashenidze] I was opposed to Zviad Gamsakhurdia's policies from the very start. I understood that he had a moral right to be leader: He was a dissident and people followed him. But his policies led to deadlock. So he forfeited that right.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Do you support the idea of a Western-style army or would you like to use Soviet experience when building Georgia's national army?

[Sharashenidze] Psychologically, I could not fail to use the experience of the army in which I served for several decades. I have accumulated a great deal of experience that we could use. But I cannot ignore the experience of Western armed forces. We do not intend to build a large army. Georgia's economy is in tatters and, moreover, our foreign policy must aim to ensure that we live in friendship and harmony with all countries bordering on Georgia. Russia first and foremost. I think we would be sensible to join a collective security system. We cannot spend money on something that already exists. What need have we of an air defense force or navy, for example?

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Has Georgia ever had its own regular troops?

[Sharashenidze] Georgia has always had weapons and vines. Its history has been such that it has often been forced to defend its borders. Before annexation in 1918, Georgia had its own national guard and regular units. They were revived on the basis of Georgian renaissance traditions from the 12th-13th centuries, when the country was united and had a strong army.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The Georgian Defense Ministry is a ministry without an army. What are its tasks?

[Sharashenidze] It is more a military-political body, which—as there is no external threat—is engaged in preparing a package of documents: on national army service based on the Law on Universal Military Service, and on the oath of allegiance. Amendments need to be made to the republic's Constitution. In short, we need to create a theoretical and legislative basis.

As a whole, building our own armed forces will take several stages, in our opinion. We are thinking of initially forming a regiment and a brigade of five or six battalions...

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] On an experimental basis?

[Sharashenidze] Everything is subordinate to the need not to burden ourselves with huge military expenditure. It would be easier if we were allocated some of the arms and equipment currently on Georgian territory.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In this connection it is impossible not to recall Gamsakhurdia's decree on nationalizing the property of units and formations stationed in the republic's territory.

[Sharashenidze] In political respects that decree was a mistake. We would not have stated the problem in that way. The time will come—things are obviously moving in that direction—when it will be dealt with on a sounder basis.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Gamsakhurdia's policy toward the Army has led to an outbreak of gangster attacks on military servicemen...

[Sharashenidze] I recently made a television statement on behalf of the Georgian Military Council in which I expressed my regret about this and confirmed that we will use national guard, Internal Affairs Ministry, and national security forces to protect the honor and dignity of servicemen who demonstrate firm, consistent neutrality.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Unfortunately, we have been unable to find a single case where such incidents have been investigated and the guilty parties punished.

[Sharashenidze] The only explanation is that our hands are tied by the armed struggle with Gamsakhurdia's supporters. The situation in the republic and with the troops must stabilize.

League for Economic, Social Progress Created

AU1002115792 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 10 Feb

[Summary From Poor Reception] "As you already know, the constituent congress of the League for Georgian Economic and Social Progress has taken place."

"Another political organization has been created whose aim is Georgia's economic and social restoration, the acquisition of state and economic sovereignty, the formation of a democratic parliamentary republic, the (?steadfast) protection of the civic rights of the representatives of all peoples and nationalities in Georgia, the guaranteeing of their social, ethnic, religious, and political freedom, the freedom of speech, press, TV, and other mass media, the establishment of civic peace in Georgia, and the achievement of general prosperity."

"The league" has been established "in order to guarantee the supremacy of the law in the republic, establish market structures, rationally equalize the lawful interests of [word indistinct] consumers and entrepreneurs, protect the legal and economic rights of every member of society, promote private ownership, raise the prestige of entrepreneurial activity, involve (?business circles) in world economic processes, and create such a system of human and social protection in our society as will guarantee an increase in the standard of living of large families, single persons, invalids, pensioners, students, young people, and others."

"The constituent congress elected Mr. Nugzar Koberidze [chairman of the Union for the Economic and Social Restoration of Georgia], as chairman of the League for Georgian Economic and Social Progress."

Power Shortages Plague 80% of Industries

OW0802051192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1935 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The republic's Energy Ministry has said that Georgia is facing serious power shortages.

A Ministry official said that the country now received only 30 million kilowatts a day, less than half of the required amount. The situation is the result of Russia and Azerbaijan's refusal to supply Georgia with power. The republic's own resources are insufficient. Turkey provides Adzharia with about 5 million kilowatts a day easing the shortage to some extent.

The official also said that Georgian industries had been idle for two weeks. Only vital infrastructures are still working. Power is available only several hours a day.

The Georgian Finance Minister Parnaiz Ananishvili says that about 80 per cent of the republic's industrial facilities are at a stand-still.

Estonia

Ruutel Interviewed on 'Current Difficulties'

OW1102201092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1918 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In a live interview on local television Monday [10 February] Chairman of the Presidium of Estonia's Supreme Soviet Arnold Ruutel told viewers he is confident that Estonia will overcome its current difficulties. Taking questions from viewers, Ruutel stressed that high bread prices are the inevitable cost of many years of a distorted economy, fraught with irresponsibility and social equality. The government is forced to take unpopular steps as dictated by the complicated political and economic conditions, said Ruutel.

The chairman of the Estonian parliament expressed the willingness to cooperate with any political party offering constructive solutions. Ruutel sees the possibility for a consensus of parties with differing political views.

Ruutel commented, regarding the delayed appointment of ambassadors to Lithuania, Latvia and Finland, that people with an economic orientation would be chosen as this is the most important aspect of Estonia's foreign policy at this point.

Economic State of Emergency Lifted 11 Feb

OW1102152192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1409 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] By a vote of 55 deputies in favor, 0 against and 12 abstentions the Estonian parliament lifted on February 11 "an economic state of emergency" in the republic.

The Savisaar government imposed an economic state of emergency last January, but shortly was forced to resign on January 23.

Estonian Economy Minister Heido Vitsur says 1991 was the last calm year for the Estonian economy. Last year's economic policy resulted in acute fuel and raw materials crisis.

Vitsur says the sharpest drop in production was suffered by the industrial association "Asto" (50.5%), meat and milk producing factories (41.1%) and the "State Granary" (35%). Consumption of electric power in Estonian industry and agriculture declined by one third.

Fuel and raw materials shortages caused a lot of industrial enterprises to stop production fully or partially. In January the "Eesti Kaabel" plant making electric equipment stopped. The "Volt" factory producing agricultural equipment works at half of its capacity. The shale-chemical plant at Kiviili stopped manufacturing synthetic detergents. The whole staff of the Tallinn furniture-making factory were forced to take a month's holiday.

Some of the major enterprises of Estonia, such as the "Norma" plant producing plastic items, the confectionery factory "Kalev", the plants "Electrotekhnika" and "Estoplast" have reduced their working time.

Many enterprises are planning mass layoffs. Vitsurs says the military plant of Pegelmann will fire more than 100 employees, the excavator-making plant "Talleks"—about 350, the "RET" radioelectronic factory—about 200, the "Electrotekhnika"—300.

Foreign Affairs Deputy Ministers Removed

OW1002193492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1904 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] By a decree issued February 7 by the Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs Lennart Meri, both of his deputies Rein Mullerson and Enn Liimets were relieved of their duties. Meri explained his actions with the comment "we must reorganize the Foreign Ministry's work". He also stated that the government agreed with his decision at a meeting on February 6. However the Estonian newspaper "Paevaleht" reports, that according to several ministers the government made no such decision.

At a meeting with Paevaleht journalists and Estonian television Meri said that he has slated (Trivimi Yelliste), a Ministry of Foreign Affairs consultant to be his new deputy. (Yelliste) is a leader of the Estonian Congress of Peoples and the Committee of Estonia, which holds a national-radical political line.

Chairman of the Committee of Estonia Tunne Kelam reported from Tallinn that he "is very pleased with the removal of the deputy ministers". Mullerson and Liimets had previously worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Disagreements Over Dismissals

OW1102201292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1918 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Conflicts have arisen in Estonia's new government, brought on by the removal of Rein Mullerson and Enn Liimets, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. "The removal of the deputy ministers comes under my jurisdiction and I gave no such order," Premier Tiit Vahi said in a press conference Monday [10 February]. He annulled the recent decision by Lennart Meri on the removal of his deputies Rein Mullerson and Enn Liimets.

The Republican parliamentary committee on internal affairs discussed the situation on Monday and ordered the government to come to an agreement.

The scandal surrounding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the first serious test of the new government. Local politicians see the tendency here for national radicals attempt to remove objectionable individuals: both deputies previously worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

New Appointments Made 'Behind Closed Doors'

OW1102152392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1409 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting behind closed doors February 10 the Estonian government appointed Peeter Jakovlev as head of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, Raivo Pikk as Deputy Trade Minister, Enn Markvart as First Deputy Justice Minister and Vahur Glaase as Deputy Justice Minister.

Official Urges Caution in Taiwan Relations

OW0902164292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1554 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Enn Liimets, the Estonian deputy foreign minister, called for caution in developing relations with Taiwan given Beijing's negative response to the establishment of consular ties between Latvia and Taiwan. "Developing trade relations with Taiwan is necessary but only to the extent that our relations with China are not hurt", he said. Mr. Liimets stressed that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Taiwan is bound to produce "great complications" in relations with China. Turning a permanent member of the UN Security Council into an enemy would not serve Estonia's national interest, he said.

According to Mr. Liimets, deputy foreign ministers of the Baltic countries discussed prospects for developing relations with China and Taiwan at a meeting in Riga on February 6. The other day, Latvia established consular relations with Taiwan which seriously damaged its ties with Beijing. In particular, the Chinese ambassador to Latvia refused to present his credentials.

"We decided at the meeting to quietly wait for the results of such an active policy in relations with Taiwan", Mr. Liimets stressed.

Tallinn Plans Talks on Arrested Army Property

OW0602164792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1437 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] An adviser to the State and Border Protection Department of Estonia, Robert Sinimagi, has told our correspondent that the armed forces property arrested at Tartu will be discussed at the Russian-Estonian negotiations. "The Estonian parliament has decided that the property should belong to the Estonian Republic," Mr. Sinimagi said. "At the moment it is being held by our authorities."

On January 31 the Estonian authorities held up two trainloads of military construction equipment and spares for helicopters which are now being guarded by the Kaitseliit militarized Public organization.

The Posttimes daily published in Tartu reports that the wagons with the spares bore the inscription "ANGOLA PUERTO LUANDA MINISTRY OF DETENCE "EMATEC" [quotation marks as received]. The paper assumes that the freight was on its way either to or from Angola.

Officials Outline Economic Issues

LD1002222492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1957 GMT 10 Feb 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Tallinn—According to Heido Vitsur, Estonian economy minister, 1991 was the last quiet year for the Estonian economy, when the republic was in the common economic space with cheap fuels etc.

Heido Vitsur said on February 10 at a press-conference:

As Russian Federation has begun economic reforms and started to act as a independent state, Estonia will have to do the same.

According to Heido Vitsur, in January this year Estonia ran out of its old reserves of fuel and materials. In January, the plant Eesti Kaabel stopped. On January 20, the Tallinn plywood and furniture plant stopped. Some shops of other plants were also stopped. The fishery fleet functions at half of its capacity. The factory Norma which produces children's toys and domestic utensils, works for two to three days a week. The plant Estoplast which produces lamps and switches, works three days a week. The candy factory Kalev and the Krengolmskaya Manufaktura work four days a week. Workers began to be sacked. At the same time, according to the labor minister, Arvo Kuddo, in Estonia, there are 20,000 vacant working places, with a special need in qualified workers. The need in retraining is not understood by all as yet.

Heido Vitsur said that for the agriculture of Estonia, 1,000 tons of the wheat seeds are necessary to be bought for a sum of Finnish marks 1.7 million. Besides, 300 tons of cheap herbicides are needed for a sum of 1.5 million, as well as other goods should be bought for about 2

million. However, in 1991, Estonia received from exports only 3 million, Tiit Vahi, prime minister of the Estonian Republic, said.

The prime minister explained to those present at the press-conference that the Estonian Republic needs profitable credits, if they are possible to receive, especially, he counts upon the use of the Estonian woods, including to mitigate the forthcoming unemployment. According to Tiit Vahi, which was expressed by him in an interview to the newspaper PAEVALEHT of February 9 this year, Estonia could sell every year as much as 10 million cubic meters of wood (whereas now it sells 3.5 million of cubic meters of wood), which could bring in 200 million.

Tiit Vahi expressed his assuredness that in February there will be no money reform. He thinks that the most difficulty task is to prepare the economy to the money reform. The recent cut off in subsidies for milk and bread was named by him a practical step of the government in this direction.

Latvia

Godmanis Criticizes Russia's Economic Ties

PM1102154992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Irina Litvinova report: "Latvian Prime Minister Expresses Lack of Confidence in Russian Leadership"]

[Text] Riga—Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis has criticized the Russian leadership's economic relations with Latvia.

"My hopes that in Russia we are speaking with honest and reliable people are diminishing all the time," Godmanis said in an interview with the official newspaper DIENA. Suggestions of a blockade on the part of Russia have also been made by other members of the Cabinet of Ministers. In Godmanis' opinion, by not supplying Latvia with raw materials and fuel, Russia is cutting the ground from under its own feet. "Ultimately they will thus be promoting our active efforts in the West, which we have begun. We will buy petroleum products for minimum consumption and for agricultural needs in the West at the same world prices." The prime minister recalled that Russia will have to pay $1.2 billion for the presence in Latvia of the former USSR's Army, which has switched to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. This is the cost of food, land tax, the lease of buildings, and payment for other services.

Riga To Receive Some Soviet Army Facilities

LD1002053292 Riga Radio Riga International in English 0700 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Excerpts] As a result of continuing interstate negotiations between Latvia and the Russian Federation it was finally decided to start the complete withdrawal of troops from the Soviet Union from Latvia in March this year. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile Mikhail (Stepicev), member of Latvia's parliament, announced that the Russian side agreed to hand over the Army's ammunition and military equipment to the Latvian security forces. The Liepaja port and Skrunda antimissile system will also be handed over to Latvia's jurisdiction.

In the course of the bilateral talks both parties agreed that the officers and personnel of the former Soviet Army still serving in Latvia would have to observe the laws and regulations of the republic of Latvia. [passage omitted]

Officials View Army Supplies Compensation

LD0902043192 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] The Latvian Deputy Minister of Economic Reform Andris Gutmanis, after meeting Russian specialists from the Ministries of Economics and Finance, has come away with the impression that Russia is ready to compensate Latvia's supplies to the Army located in our republic.

On the basis of the talks, on [8 February] a communique was signed in Riga on the status of the Army deployed in Latvia. But to continue the talks on mutual Latvian and Russian supplies of goods for this year, officials of the Ministries of Foreign Trade and of Industry have gone to Moscow. For the time being, there is great unclarity about the goods supplies, because on the Russian side, four departments, which are unable to coordinate their action, are involved.

Government Plans To Extradite Parfenov Denied

PM1102104592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Litvinova: "Latvia Does Not Intend To Hand Over Parfenov"]

[Text] Riga—The main news of the day in Latvia has been the denial of RIA and Russian VESTI reports that at the talks in Riga the Latvian side agreed to hand over to Russia Sergey Parfenov, deputy commander of the former Riga OMON [special purpose militia detachment].

The Supreme Council urgently convened a news conference of delegation members at the talks with Russia. They said that the "Parfenov question" was not raised, and there was a discussion only of problems connected with the withdrawal of troops. They also denied the reference made by a news agency to agreements with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Council chairman. The chairman's assistant, P. Ikauniyeks, announced that A. Gorbunovs has not met with Sergey Shakhray, the leader of the Russian delegation.

Latvian Deputy General Prosecutor Yazeps Antsans asserts that no orders have been issued for the release of Parfenov, who is still being held in a Riga solitary confinement cell and is not giving evidence.

OMON Chief Implicates Ministry in '91 Killing

OW0602025992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1924 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The ex-commander of the Riga OMON [special purpose militia detachment] Cheslav Mlynnik made a statement to the St. Petersburg news agency "Galateya" on the report that Latvia has information of the participation of his division in the killing of 7 Lithuanian customs agents in Medininkae in the summer of 1991. Mlynnik emphasized that since October 2, 1990, when OMON was transferred to the interior army "the special forces of the Latvian Interior Ministry followed his every step, therefore it was impossible to do anything without that department's knowledge".

In his opinion, the murder was committed by people the victims knew. It was specially planned on the eve of the U.S. president's arrival in the USSR to "show the whole world the evil Moscow is committing in Lithuania".

The Riga OMON was deployed to Russia following the failure of the August coup. The deputy commander of the division, Sergey Parfenov was arrested.

Latvian, Polish Ministers on Defense Issues

LD0702181192 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 6 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Warsaw February 6 ITAR-TASS—Defense Minister of Poland, Jan Parys, and his counterpart from Latvia, Talavs Yundzis, expressed their wish to resume the cooperation between the two countries interrupted by World War Two. In the course of the meeting the ministers exchanged information on a wide range of problems, including the issue on the withdrawal of troops of the former Soviet Union and the situation in this region of the European continent, as well as the military and political unions dominating in the region and the trends toward their formation.

According to Colonel Ryszard Jakubczuk, a representative of the Latvian Defense Ministry Press Office, Latvia is interested in Poland rendering aid in training Latvian armed forces personnel and creating a system of the army's logistical support, as well as forming and training border units. The colonel said Latvia plans to create a 9,000-men strong army based on the principle of self-defense.

Cuba To Supply Sugar for Food

LD0902210292 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Cuba will supply Latvia this year with 50,000 tonnes of raw sugar. In exchange our republic will supply Cuba with beef fat, cheese, and condensed milk. An agreement to this effect has been included in an agreement between the governments of Latvia and Cuba signed in Riga today by Arijs Ziverts, the Latvian deputy foreign trade minister, and Cuban Foreign Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas.

Gorbunovs Congratulates Bulgaria's President

OW0702030392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1437 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Latvian parliament Anatoliy Gorbunovs sent a telegram on February 5 to President of Bulgaria Zhel Zhelev congratulating him with his election to the post. The Latvian leader expressed hope the new president will continue the policy of strengthening friendship between Latvia and Bulgaria.

Lithuania

USSR Troop Withdrawal Talks Begin

LD1102152492 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Viktor Isakov, deputy head of a directorate at the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry, is heading the delegation of experts from that country which has arrived in Vilnius to prepare the agreement of the Russian Federation and Lithuania on the systematic withdrawal of troops of the former Soviet Union from the territory of Lithuania. [passage omitted]

The meeting of the Russian and Lithuanian groups of experts to discuss this issue started an hour ago at the Lithuanian Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Border Talks Held With Kaliningrad Delegation

LD0902233292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] For two days a Kaliningrad working group has been conducting negotiations with a Lithuanian working group headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Valdemaras Katkus on the demarcation of the borders. The head of the Lithuanian working group agreed to say more about this meeting. We switched on a telephone conversation:

[Begin Katkus recording] It was the second meeting following the 14 January meeting in Kaliningrad between the Lithuanian delegation and the Kaliningrad oblast delegation on the delimitation of the Lithuanian-Russian Federation border. At the meeting which took

place yesterday and today, a working protocol was signed with regard to an agreement reached on the working timetable for the future.

It is envisaged that the working groups will submit their drafts of an agreement by 1 July on the border between Lithuania and Kaliningrad Oblast, a map, and other corresponding material. It is envisaged that the main commission will meet once a month to solve disputed issues. At present seven commissions have been approved to work in specific technical spheres, such as the delimitation and establishment of the border on the territory itself, and its marking on the map. All issues are being solved concerning the navigation on the Nemunas and the Kursiai Bay, the supply of electricity, railroad problems, etc.

The problem remains on to how to mark the border on the sea so that Lithuania does not lose areas rich in fish. This issue is as yet open, although detailed preparations have been made. It will be discussed and solved in the future. [end recording]

Parliament Discusses 'De-Sovietization' Law

LD0902182192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Report by Roman Pakeniene]

[Excerpt] Discussions have started [on 5 February] in parliament on the so called de-sovietization law. The draft under discussion provides for some restrictions in discharging state duties by former KGB officials, the Communist Party, and Komsomol functionaries. It is a very important legal document, the purpose of which is at least partially to get rid of the heritage of the Soviet regime in our society.

Another matter is whether such a law as it is now will be adopted. Last week those drawing up this law had little hope, assuming that the draft would be rejected in view of heavy opposition by former Communists. But yesterday approximately one quarter of parliament voted for the further examination of the law, thus it can be expected that it will be passed sooner or later. Most likely a compromise will be sought which would satisfy the conflicting views of the parliamentary sides.

Disagreements arise mostly because of the moral aspect of this document, bringing to the fore the criterion of the selection of people—how to establish which former party functionary is today more dangerous and which is not. It must be said that only former party functionaries have been selected as the object of the discussion, rejecting KGB officials as being, beyond any manner of doubt, a different category of people.

Deputy Jurgis Jurgelis, who is against this law, maintains that the attempt to select people is in vain because there is no norm on which this limit could be based. I will remind that in the draft law the prohibition to discharge state duties is applied to, starting with a town or rayon party secretary, and ending with a bureau member of the Central Committee.

The principle of collective responsibility, in the opinion of many leftists and centrists, should be discarded as it would put side by side both true criminals, the victims of the regime, and the idealists who have been pursuing good aims and who have accomplished a great deal for the benefit of Lithuania.

But the world is familiar with the precedent of collective responsibility—the de-Nazification in Germany, stated deputy Algirdas Patackas. Many people regard the example of de-Nazification as unacceptable to Lithuania because of completely different circumstances of this process. Algirdas Patackas at the same time acknowledged that the law must be just and humane, therefore an exception should be made to people bearing in mind their professionalism, loyalty, and ethics. Such a mission, according to Algirdas Patackas, could be carried out by special commissions.

The leftist representative, Jonas Pangonis, immediately called this idea a Communist bacillus, when people are divided into those wise, who could be judges, and those who have no such right.

Other deputies also urged a spirit of humanism in the law, proposing to differentiate not only the Communist Party functionaries but also those who have collaborated with the Soviet security, separate those who have voluntarily confessed, and not to apply strict restrictions to them.

Repentance was often mentioned in yesteray's discussion—sometimes it seemed to be outweighing other topics. Those supporting the law maintained that such law may not have been discussed at all today if the Communists had repented publicly. Unfortunately, it did not take place, said Sajudis Group deputy Saulius Peceliunas. Moreover, former Communists are speaking ever louder about revanchism, and this, according to him, was very clearly reflected in the last conference of the Democratic Labor Party.

Repentance is understood in a different way by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis. He said that nobody expects some spectacles of repentance by the Communists. The behavior of each person shows whether he has repented in his mind, or on the contrary, has justified himself. This notably concerns those former functionaries who are at present occupying economic, legal, or municipal posts. Blocked economic changes, slander, and the ridiculing of people provoke despair and protest among society. This, according to Landsbergis, shows that these former Communists have not repented in their minds.

The parliament chairman said he is convinced there is no revenge in the feelings of people who have suffered from the regime, only a feeling of poor justice. The draft under discussion aims at restoring this justice, although

Vytautas Landsbergis acknowledges that such steps would probably be approved only by half of the nation. But to do nothing, expecting that everything will disappear by itself, would not be correct, too. We must take responsibility for any consequences, said Vytautas Landsbergis.

In the opinion of former Communists, these consequences would be very sad. A quarreling parliament, people apt to suspect, and a divided Lithuania would be helpless and pushed around by its stronger neighbors. Deputy Povilas Varanauskas, representing former political prisoners and exiles in parliament, sees a great danger in the draft bill. According to him, this is a toy in the hands of dark forces, aiming not to de-sovietize but to destabilise society. Two parts of the nation—those who suffered and former activists—would once again disagree. Meanwhile we are one nation, one body, and we must strive for one aim only. Povilas Varanauskas approved the idea of social alliance, inviting all political forces for reconciliation. This idea is also supported by the Organization of Political Prisoners and Exiles.

However, parliamentary deputies, former political prisoners, and exiles voiced completely different ideas of reconciliation. For example, Nijole Ambrazaityte stated that by pretending nothing has happened during those 50 years, we would not hear the grievances of all victims. Only by passing this law will we forgive each other, reconcile, and work in the future for the benefit of Lithuania.

The adoption of a very strict law as regards former Communists and KGB officials was demanded by former political prisoners Liudvikas Simutis and Reverend Alfonsas Svarinskas. We must get rid of the occupation spots as soon as possible, otherwise we may perish, said Liudvikas Simutis. According to him, the fifth columns of the invaders, with the hands of the Communist Party and Komsomol functionaries, are inflicting a great damage to Lithuania today, too. [passage omitted]

Officials Report on Baltic, Nordic Cooperation

PM1102102592 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 28 Jan 92 p 4

[O. Rostov report: "Parliamentary Briefing"]

[Text] Deputy A. Taurantas and R. Bogdanas, adviser to the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council on foreign policy issues, met with journalists at a briefing yesterday.

At the first plenary session of the Interparliamentary Assembly of Baltic Countries in Riga, Taurantas was elected Presidium chairman of the assembly, the next session of which will take place in Vilnius in June of this year. He said that the Presidium—the working organ of the assembly—will have to resolve organizational questions and consider the assembly budget and relations with other interstate, interparliamentary organizations, and in particular relations with the Nordic Council, as the aim of the Baltic Assembly is to create structures for the closest possible cooperation. The work of the Nordic Council could serve as an example of such joint activity, especially since the Baltic countries are geared to close cooperation with Nordic Council countries, Taurantas noted.

Bogdanas talked about Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis' participation in London at the international conference on reintegrating the Baltic states into the world community. Bogdanas remarked on the Danish foreign minister's speech, which formulated a concrete plan for integrating the Baltic countries. It includes the following basic provisions: the speediest admission to the World Bank and membership of the IMF; the creation of a stabilization fund; long-term international credits; state loans from individual countries; increased aid from Nordic Council countries; the establishment of a Baltic investment bank; a more active stance from the European Community in questions of technical aid and credit guarantees; and commitments from the Baltic countries to conduct a liberal trade policy, including constructive cooperation with Russia, Belarus, the Ukraine, and the countries of Central Europe.

Prime Minister Expects Prices To Stabilize

LD0902202492 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] According to forecasts by Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, the prices of food products should stabilize in the second half of February. A traditional interview with the prime minister on these and other problems of economic life:

[Vagnorius] During talks with Russian Government representatives, we were informed that they have given instructions to issue licenses, establish quotas, and give permission to export corresponding products envisaged in our agreements. But we are receiving information that in individual cases, goods which should be delivered to Lithuania by rail are stopped somewhere; there have been even cases when goods have been unloaded.

I do not think that they are breaking some economic ties with our country. I think there are no such actions; such relations have been strengthening, and they have been mutually advantageous and correspond with the norms of international law. But after yesterday's government meeting, such cases will be recorded each time, and we will demand that they are not repeated.

[Correspondent] At a meeting of the State Commission on the work of the economy in special conditions attended by some factory leaders, the stock exchange was accused of a lack of metal. When we journalists had a

private conversation with the exchange brokers, they said: And where do we get this metal if not from the directors of the enterprises, who illegally, under the pretext that they have no money to pay wages, get permission to sell a certain amount of metal or other raw material in short supply. On the whole, such a silent system of currency bribes exists.

[Vagnorius] We have been observing for a long time such negative processes, when individual heads of individual enterprises, in signing economic agreements—notably with partners abroad, and when the currency price is fixed—cases have been observed when this price is intentionally lower and this additional price is divided between the foreign partner and our head. I said it very mildly—divided. This is of course not a division, this is simply a crime. Our organs of justice envisage a punishment for this. [passage omitted]

Of course, each time we receive such information, when there is a suspicion that some head of an enterprise has struck such deal, we punish him.

On the other hand, we try to create conditions which exclude the possibility of earning money in this dishonest way, especially as far as currency is concerned. [passage omitted]

We have adopted a decision to instruct the Ministry of Economy to constantly assess prices at which materials in short supply are sold, notably abroad. The Ministry of Economy has the right to forbid the export of products if it is established that these products are sold abroad at an intentionally lowered price. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Can we expect yet another increase in the prices of agricultural products, approximately before the fall?

[Vagnorius] I do not think that this will happen, with the exception of dairy products. From the 7th of this year [as heard] the purchase prices of dairy products are almost unrestricted. But the food prices are not completely dictated by the home market. I forecast that the prices of food products will not increase. A reduction of prices has been noticed in certain parts of Russia. This means that the market is already beginning to keep its balance.

Border Guard Chief on Readiness, Operations

LD0802054192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] The chief of the border protection service of the National Defense Ministry, Stanislovas Stancikas, has announced that Lithuania's border servicemen were almost ready to take over the control of the republic's western borders from the former Soviet servicemen. Enough men have been recruited for this purpose, but they lack weapons.

According to Stancikas, Lithuania could today completely take over the control of the Polish border and the sea coast. Negotiations are taking place in this respect.

He also assured the daily RESPUBLIKA that the Lithuanian border will be guarded in accordance with the European and not with Soviet experience. This means that in the nearest future Soviet fortifications will be removed on the border with Poland. In view of a shortage of professional border service men, this is so far being delayed.

Landsbergis Urges Preservation of Sajudis

OW1002143692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1337 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] "We must preserve the Sajudis at the current stage and bolster it as the mainstay of Lithuanian independence," said chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis in his Sunday [9 February] appearance on national TV. He expressed concern over the future of the Sajudis in connection with the trends in the movement that can split it.

Landsbergis sees in Sajudis a political force "capable of taking a hard line against corruption and thievery and of demanding the reform of the law-and-order system."

Landsbergis Doubts Gorbachev's Trial Help

LD0802063192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Speaking at today's [5 February] parliamentary sitting, Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis expressed doubt that former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev would give evidence on the tragic events in Vilnius in January 1991. Landsbergis said that Mikhail Gorbachav was the main witness of an attempted coup in Lithuania.

A group of investigators for the Lithuanian General Procuracy, currently working in Moscow, had expressed the wish to question Gorbachev. There has been no reaction from Gorbachev yet.

The Lithuanian investigators hope to interrogate former Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, former KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov, and other former Soviet leaders now under arrest and charged with the coup d'etat.

The Lithuanian daily LIETUVOS RYTAS states that it is even more difficult to question those important witnesses who directly participated in the January events and are now somewhere in Russia and some of them continue to serve in its armed forces. Hence, in spite of political agreements reached by Landsbergis and Russian President Boris Yeltsin during their recent meeting in Moscow, many obstacles still exist for solving the case of the January murders.

The daily LIETUVOS RYTAS draws the conclusion that the Russian state institutions, Army, and its headquarters still employ many people in responsible posts who are not interested in this investigation.

Minister, WEU Team View Defense, Security

PM1102103392 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 28 Jan 92 p 4

[ELTA report: "On Defense and Security Questions"]

[Text] [Lithuanian] Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila has received a Western European Union [WEU] delegation headed by Secretary General Willem Van Eekelen, which is visiting Lithuania.

The delegation head told the deputy prime minister about the aims of the WEU, which is embracing an increasing number of Helsinki process participant countries. The union's structures, although they do not have their own armed forces, could be a very effective guarantee of European security because its activity is coordinated by the foreign and defense ministers of these countries.

Mr. Willem Van Eekelen noted that the WEU is prepared to cooperate with the democratic countries of East Europe, including Lithuania, and to help guarantee the defense and security of these states.

Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila described the economic and political situation in Lithuania and notified delegation members of the problems linked with the stationing here of a foreign state's military units and about the readiness to negotiate their withdrawal.

During the conversation, there was an exchange of views on the possibility of Lithuania's participation in the activity of the WEU.

Elections Delayed in Ethnic Polish Areas

OW0602032492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1924 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian parliament decided not to hold elections to the local governments of the [words indistinct] regions before March. The two regions which are populated predominantly by ethnic Poles and were under Poland's jurisdiction during the period of Lithuania's statehood will still be governed directly from Vilnius. It was also pointed out that the Lithuanian parliament will consider the issue of elections not earlier than in early March.

As is known, the Polish regions' local governments were dissolved in early September after the failure of the August coup attempt on charges of anti-constitutional activities. Vilnius took full control of the regions causing mixed reactions among both the Poles living in Lithuania and in Poland. The Polish faction of the Lithuanian parliament has repeatedly spoken in favor of holding new elections as soon as possible. It intends to make a special statement following the decision to delay the elections indefinitely.

360,000 Urge Restoration of Presidency

LD0702183592 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 7 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius February 7 TASS—A total of 360,000 residents of Lithuania have put their signatures under an appeal urging a referendum on the restoration of presidency in the republic.

The nationalistic movement Sajudis, which initiated the campaign, will submit the appeal to the Lithuanian parliament today for the final decision.

Under Lithuanian law, 300,000 signatures is enough to declare a referendum in the republic.

Several months ago, the parliament decided to postpone the discussion of this issue until a new constitution is adopted in the republic. In addition, two weeks ago the majority of parliamentarians turned down a proposal to include a question on the restoration of presidency in the session agenda.

Government Commission Chairmen Confirmed

LD0602155292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] The following Supreme Council deputies have been confirmed as commission chairmen: Economic Commission—Kazimieras Antanavicius; Nature Protection Commission—Jonas Simenas; Municipal Government Affairs Commission—Stasys Kropas; Health Protection and [word indistinct] Affairs Commission—Medardas Cobotoas; Education, Science, and Culture Commission—Gediminas Ilgunas; State Defense and Internal Affairs Commission—Saulius Peceliunas; Legal System Commission—Jonas Prapiestis; Aurimas Taurantas has been confirmed as chairman of the State Restoration and Constitution Commission. Deputy Jurgis Jurgelis has been confirmed as chairman of the Citizens' Rights and Nationality Affairs Commision.

A decision has also been adopted on confirmation of chairmen of Supreme Council permanent commissions.

CIA-Based Forecast Predicts 30% Unemployment

OW1002043692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] President of the Lithuanian Free Market Institute Kestutis Glaveskas predicts that in 1992 unemployment in Lithuania may reach 28-30% and production may fall

by 18%. In his opinion, living standards in Lithuania will decline by 20% in 1992, Glaveskas said this forecast had been made on the basis of studies by the European Center of Economic Research, the CIA, and the Morgan Stanley Bank. These organizations are studying economic prospects for the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Baltics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania.

South African Ambassador Presents Credentials

OW1002214092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1904 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Emergency and plenipotentiary South African Ambassador to Lithuania C.M. Swart [name as received] presented his credentials to the deputy head of the Lithunanian parliament Bronislovas Kuzmitskas in Vilnius today.

Landsbergis To Visit Germany 10-13 Feb

OW1002141792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1337 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis is leaving for Germany on a working visit February 10. Lithuanian parliament's press-secretary Audrius Azubalis said at a Vilnius briefing that Landsbergis is to meet with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The negotiations will focus on Germany's possible aid "to speed up the withdrawal of the former Soviet Army from Lithuania and the other Baltic states." Landsbergis will be back on February 13.

Landsbergis Begins 4-Day Visit to Germany

WA1102080092

For reportage on the visit by President Vytautas Landsbergis to Germany, including reports on his talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and business leaders, please see the GERMANY section of the 11 February West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.